

SCHOLIA BERNENSIA

**AN EDITION OF THE SCHOLIA
ON THE ECLOGUES OF VIRGIL
IN BERN BURGERBIBLIOTHEK MANUSCRIPT 172**

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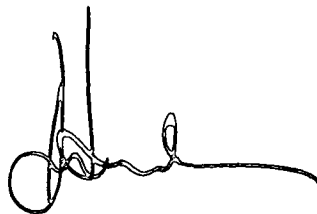
**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Tasmania
September, 1993**

STATEMENT

I, David Charles Campbell Daintree, hereby declare
that to the best of my knowledge and belief
this thesis contains no material previously published or
written by another person, except where due reference
is made in the text of the thesis.

I further declare that no material herein contained
has been accepted for the award of any other higher
degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution,
with the exception of certain extracts from
Explanatio II, which was formerly edited by me
and submitted to the University of Cambridge
for the degree of M. Litt.

These extracts have been included for comparison with
corresponding passages of the Scholia Bernensia,
in the belief that they are the best available text for
the purpose.



30.9.1993

SCHOLIA BERNENSIA

An Edition, with Introduction and Commentary, of the marginal Glosses on the Eclogues of Virgil in Bern Stadtbibliothek Manuscript 172

A Dissertation submitted for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
by David C.C. Daintree, B.A., M.Litt.

ABSTRACT

The central feature of this dissertation is an edition of the marginal notes, or glosses, on the Eclogues of Virgil, to be found in Bern Stadtbibliothek MS 172, a ninth-century manuscript written in carolingian minuscules and known as the 'floriacensis' after its place of origin, the monastery of Fleury.

Together with a clearly related set of glosses in MSS 165 and 167 of the same Library, these commentaries have long borne the collective name Scholia Bernensia.

Central to my thesis is the proposition that commentaries were not copied and transmitted with the same type of 'reverence' that was accorded to classical literary works, but that they were constantly subjected to modification, deletion and interpolation at the discretion of the scholar or scribe who copied them, in accordance with the perceived needs of those for whom they were intended.

It follows, then, that the established methods of textual criticism, by which an ancient and original literary work is restored or established from the extant

manuscripts, cannot be employed in the handling of commentaries and glosses, for no single antique original may ever have existed. To put it another way, each commentary may indeed be derived largely from original sources, and they may well be legion, but it is itself a new and unique composition assembled from a diversity of sources of varying age and value, at the compiler's discretion.

It further follows from all that has been said above that the final printed edition of a commentary ought to reflect something of the character of the manuscript (or family of manuscripts) from which it is derived, that the often composite nature of the manuscript version ought not to be obscured, and that the modern editor ought to resist the temptation to fabricate a coherent and integrated commentary by padding it out with borrowings from such as Servius, whenever echoes of the older and respected commentator fall upon the ear. The modern edition should, then, be closer in character to a diplomatic version, for the precise nature of the text as transmitted through the ages is of very much more importance to the modern student of commentaries than to the scholar whose primary interest lies in the classics themselves; to the latter the actual process of transmission will only ever be incidental.

This dissertation will also assess the evidence for an Irish 'interlude' in the tradition of the Scholia Bernensia and related commentaries, and in particular for the now well-established proposition that an immediate precursor of our commentary was one compiled by Adamnán, Abbot of Iona (ob. 704), incorporating a body of material which he in turn derived from Filargirius (or Philargyrius), an otherwise unknown pagan commentator of the putative Milan school.

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1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The central feature of this dissertation is an edition of the marginal commentary, or glosses, on the Eclogues of Virgil, to be found in Bern Burgerbibliothek MS 172, a ninth-century codex written in Carolingian minuscules and known as 'Floriacensis' after the monastery of Fleury whence it came, eventually, to its present home.

Together with a clearly related set of glosses in MSS 165 and 167 of the same Library, these commentaries have long borne the collective name Scholia Bernensia, but the portion in MS 172 is the most complete and extensive (the commentaries on the Eclogues, the subject of this thesis, totalling about 25,035 words) and must form the basis and the bulk, if not the entire substance, of any future edition of the Scholia Bernensia.¹

The Scholia Bernensia cannot be studied in isolation: there is a variety of additional commentary with which they are intimately connected. Subsequent chapters will analyze this material in more detail, but in the meantime the following brief summary is necessary to set the scene.

¹ Such an edition is indeed planned, the present author and Professor Geymonat having entered into an agreement with Teubner for its eventual publication. The precise form it will take must remain a matter of conjecture until the manuscripts have been re-examined and the *Georgics* material included.

The collection comprises firstly, a pair of Explanations in Bucolica or commentaries on the Eclogues (usually designated I and II). These are quite similar works, clearly enjoying some kind of close relationship with each other, yet they reveal sufficient differences to justify their treatment as separate commentaries. Secondly, there is a Brevis Expositio (incomplete) of the first and part of the second books of the Georgics. Thirdly, we have the so-called Scholia Bernensia themselves, a much longer set of glosses on both the Eclogues and the Georgics. The two Explanations and the Brevis Expositio are each contained in three manuscripts: Paris BN 11308 and 7960, and Florence Bibl. Laur. Plut. XLV.14. The Scholia Bernensia are said to be found wholly or partly in over 70 different codices, of which Funaioli gives the fullest description,² though I shall argue elsewhere that the use of the portmanteau term Scholia Bernensia presents a false impression of the homogeneity of the material. The oldest and most important of all these codices appear to have been written at such centres as Auxerre and Reims in northern France, but the evidence of abbreviations and orthography demonstrates that their archetypes came from an Irish centre, whether on the continent or in Ireland itself.³ The ultimate Irish provenance of the collection is further indicated by the presence of some brief glosses (usually one or two words

2 *Esegesi Virgiliana*, 8-36.

3 Beeson, 'Insular Symptoms', 86; Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius* 5, 38.

only) in Old Irish - 32 definite instances in Explanatio II, considerably more in Explanatio I and the Scholia Bernensia material in Bern Burgerbibliothek MS 167.⁴

By way of clarifying a subject fraught with potential for confusion, I am using the term commentary in this dissertation to cover all types of explicatory matter whose existence is ancillary to a known classical work of literature. The term therefore includes glosses, both marginal and interlinear, as well as continuous 'running' commentaries, such as those well-known ones of Servius, which appear to have, as it were, a life of their own. An individual commentary may therefore be defined as a collection of notes or glosses as written down in a manuscript, and in any subsequent copies of that manuscript.

Central to my thesis is the proposition that commentaries were not copied and transmitted with the same type of 'reverence' that was accorded to classical literary works, but that they were constantly subjected to modification, deletion and interpolation at the discretion of the scholar - or mere scribe - who copied them, in accordance with the perceived needs of those for whom they were intended.

⁴ See W. Stokes, 'The Glosses on the Bucolics', 62-86 and 313-5, for the fullest survey of the Irish glosses in the *Explanationes*, and the preface to Hagen's edition, esp. 21-2, for a summary of the glosses in MS 167.

It follows, then, that the established methods of textual criticism, by which an ancient and original literary work is restored or established from the extant manuscripts, cannot be employed in the handling of commentaries and glosses, for no single antique original may ever have existed. To put it another way, each new commentary may indeed be derived largely from original sources, and they may well be legion, but it is itself a new and unique composition assembled from a diversity of sources of varying age and value (some doubtless contemporary), at the compiler's discretion.

What, then, constitutes a new commentary? This is a most fluid area and a certain subjectivity of judgement is inevitable, but I would suggest that a workable definition of a new medieval commentary would be a commentary which markedly and significantly differs from anything preceding it, by reason of deliberately altered language, omissions or interpolations. It is certainly not true to say that each manuscript marks a new commentary: there are instances of several manuscripts being quite clearly copies (saving occasional and usually inadvertent scribal variation) of the same commentary. The Servian tradition offers the clearest example of this. Another good example is that of the Explanationes (referred to above, and to be constantly under examination during our study of the Scholia Bernensia); these exist in full in three different codices, and in remarkably similar form: in my opinion all three were

copied from a single archetype, now lost.⁵ One may conclude these remarks by saying, then, that each commentary may be found in a 'family' of several manuscripts (certainly this is true of Servius), or it may be unique to one.

A study of the scholia readily reminds one of the experience of looking at a mirror within a mirror, and seeing images within images, receding into the distance. There are scholia within scholia within scholia. Where does a new commentary begin - or how does an old one end? If a scribe copies one commentary his version is just that, a copy. But what if he selects from or collates two or three earlier collections - is his a new work, and can he be honoured with the name of author, or compiler? How much of himself must he add to his collation in order to win our accolade of approval as a scholar in his own right? These are questions that must be addressed by all who approach the scholia.

It further follows from all that has been said above that the final printed edition of a commentary ought to retain something of the character of the manuscript (or family of manuscripts) from which it is derived, that the often composite nature of the manuscript version ought not to be obscured, and that the modern editor ought to resist the temptation to fabricate a coherent and

5 I have argued for this view in my own edition of *Explanatio II*, which was submitted as a dissertation to the University of Cambridge and remains unpublished (though it is listed in the Bibliography of the present work).

integrated commentary by padding it out with borrowings from such as Servius, whenever echoes of the older and respected commentator fall upon the ear. The modern edition should, then, be closer in character to a diplomatic version, for the precise nature of the text as transmitted through the ages is of very much more importance to the modern student of commentaries than to the scholar whose primary interest lies in the classics themselves; to the latter the actual process of transmission will only ever be incidental.⁶

This dissertation will also assess the evidence for an Irish 'interlude' in the tradition of the Scholia Bernensia and related commentaries, and in particular for the now well-established proposition that an influential precursor of our commentary was one compiled by Adamnán, Abbot of Iona (ob. 704), incorporating a body of material which he in turn derived from Filargirius (or Philargyrius), an otherwise unknown pagan commentator of the putative Milan school. I shall argue that regardless of any fame or distinction which Filargirius (if a single such individual existed at all) may have enjoyed in his own age, his importance in the scheme of these present commentaries is, in reality, far less than has been previously imagined, and the value of the contribution of Irish and Carolingian scholars correspondingly greater.

6 Dionisotti, *From Stephanus to Du Cange*, has noticed this tendency in relation to studies of the glossaries: 'It was the gloss, not the glossary, that interested Scaliger' (330).

I should like to take this opportunity to offer my profound respect and gratitude to Professor Geymonat, a distinguished scholar whom I have the honour to count as a personal friend and collaborator, whose generosity towards me has given me the opportunity and the inspiration to explore exciting pathways which might otherwise have remained unknown to me.

I acknowledge with deep appreciation the helpful hospitality of Dr. von Steiger and Dr. Marlis Stähli, Curators of Manuscripts at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern, respectively, during my visits in 1988 and 1993. My second visit was made possible by a generous grant from Pro Helvetia; for this, too, I place on record my wholehearted thanks.

I should like also to thank the Council of my college, Jane Franklin Hall, for the generosity it has always extended to me since my appointment as Principal, in allowing me ample time and leave to carry out my academic research.

Finally, of course, I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance, guidance and learning made available to me by both my supervisor, Professor Paul Weaver, and my associate supervisor, Professor Rod Thomson.

2. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE VIRGIL SCHOLIA

It is clear that from the very earliest times Virgil's poems were regarded as models of Latin verse style and were thus accorded special respect in the classrooms of the Roman world. Naturally such a situation implies that explanatory notes, commentaries and aids of every kind were compiled by teachers to assist their students in interpreting the hallowed texts, and a varied and extensive selection of such notes survives to the present day.

Helen Waddell once described the Appendix Virgiliana as coming 'down through the Middle Ages bobbing at a painter's end in the mighty wash of the Aeneid'.¹ The same pretty image may even more appropriately be applied to the scholia, whose sole reason for existence was the humble service of something infinitely greater than themselves. They are not literature, but are in the service of literature. Because they are not literature, the normal processes of textual analysis, I shall argue, cannot be applied to them. This chapter attempts broadly to sketch the geography of that peculiar world in which the Scholia Bernensia find their being.

The most extensive commentaries on Virgil that have come down to us are of course those of Servius² and

1 *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, 294.

2 The edition of Servius (and other commentaries) by G. Thilo and H. Hagen (*Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols, Leipzig 1881, reprinted since, but unrevised) remains the only complete one, the *Editio Harvardiana* encompassing portions of the *Aeneid* only. Thilo uses italics to indicate

Tiberius Claudius Donatus.³ That of Servius is our largest, and indeed our only, commentary on the whole of the Aeneid which has survived from late antiquity, but, like most things in this field, it presents us with a difficulty. It is worth glancing at now, because it serves as a kind of grand paradigm of the problems that will face us elsewhere.

What we might describe as 'Servius simplex', the basic text of his commentary, has been transmitted through the ages in a very broad manuscript tradition. But there is another Servius, so to speak, the so-called 'Servius auctus' or Servius Danielinus (named after the French scholar, Pierre Daniel, who first published it in 1600) which has the appearance of being a fuller and more complete version of the Servian commentary. And this was indeed for a long time thought to be the case, until scholars in the last century or so demonstrated, on the basis of contradictions between Servius simplex and the additional material in Servius Danielinus (simply referred to by most editors as 'D'), that the latter came from a different and distinct source, and must have been collated with Servius at some time in the remote past.

the 'daneline' portions of the commentary, a practice which, while generally helpful, perhaps presents a too static picture of a highly contaminated manuscript tradition.

3 *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. H. Georgius, Stuttgart, 1905. Regretably this edition is not indexed, a serious omission in a work as tortuous and tedious as this. See also Brugnoli's contribution on Donatus in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, vol II, 127-9. The most recent and comprehensive bibliographical surveys of the scholia (and indeed of Virgilian studies in general) are those contained under the appropriate entries in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (6 vols, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1984-92).

This ambiguity about the nature of the Servian text has long been a focal point for studies of the scholia in general and we shall return to it in Chapter Four.

Servius's very uniqueness has caused his commentary to be subjected to close analysis and possibly unfair criticism by modern scholarship, nevertheless it is refreshing to find the Italian scholar, Timpanaro, praising Servius for his good sense, a view no doubt widely held throughout the centuries (if not always in modern times), to judge by the rich manuscript tradition which has preserved him for us.⁴

We now turn to the surviving non-Servian scholia material, most of it anonymous or at least of questionable authorship, confining our attention to writings which, whether in the form of marginal glosses or of integrated text, aim to elucidate the text of Virgil in sequence, line by line. Medieval glossaries - books of glosses, often alphabetical, which served roughly the same purpose as dictionaries today - are not our concern here, except tangentially, nor are such writings as those of St Isidore, which devote a good deal of attention to Virgil, yet do not set out to expound his texts sequentially.⁵

4 S. Timpanaro, *Per la Storia della Filologia Virgiliana Antica*, Rome, 1986, esp. 154-5. G. Brugnoli, in his article 'Servio' in vol IV of the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, lists over 140 surviving manuscripts from the period up to s. xii which contain Servius wholly or in part.

5 Dionisotti's *From Stephanus to Du Cange* is the best recent treatment of the glossaries; she deals chiefly with Greek-Latin glossaries, but much of what she has to say has a general application in this field. Of Isidore's works, of course, the *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 1911, are of primary significance; there has been much 'cross-fertilization' between this encyclopedia and Virgil scholia.

Before coming to matters of detail, it is perhaps advisable to say something of the difficulties facing anyone who wishes to attempt a systematic study of these scholia. To begin with, we cannot presume, as we can in the case of the classical authors themselves, that behind every family of apparently related manuscripts there lies a single, integrated commentary whose correct readings we may be able to recover. The fact is that in the world of late antiquity and the early middle ages, a world in which books were scarce, plagiarism was not counted a sin, and the compilation of compendia and encyclopedias from every available source was a common pursuit of scholars, it must have been the aim of every teacher to assemble all the notes he could put his hands on (or write, not to say invent, himself) for the benefit of his students.⁶

This is the very fluid and variable background against which any investigation of these scholia must take place. The present writer is sceptical about the attempts of past scholars such as Thomson⁷ to discern and even reconstruct whole commentaries on Virgil which have not survived, yet are presumed to have been written by such authors as Adamnán,⁸ Philargyrius,⁹ Gaudentius¹⁰

6 For this view see D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, 55: 'the commentaries on Vergil were subject to perpetual alterations. No master ever scrupled to condense or modify or gloss them in any way he might think best'. See also J.E.G. Zetzel, 'On the History of Latin Scholia II', 19, and Dionisotti, 311.

7 'A New Supplement', 258 ff.

8 See my note 'Glosse Irlandesi', *EV* vol II, 774-6.

9 See Geymonat's note 'Filargirio', *EV* vol II, 520-1.

10 See Geymonat's note 'Gaudenzio', *EV* vol II, 637-8.

and Aelius Donatus.¹¹ These claims will be examined in their own place later. I do not question the possibility (but neither do I affirm the likelihood) that all these men wrote commentaries or notes on all or some of the Virgilian corpus; I have no confidence, however, that they are recoverable. Moreover I believe that scholarship may suffer from this kind of approach: it seems to me more likely that a proper appreciation of the significance and value of the scholia on Virgil will emerge from a broad study of the entire field, including provenance, didactic method and cultural ethos, rather than from continued attempts to 'father' sets of scholia on to particular individuals whose names by chance have been preserved.

The case of Aelius Donatus is a particularly interesting one. Donatus's lost commentary on Virgil is, if I may be permitted to use the language of astronomy, a gigantic 'black hole' in the hemisphere of medieval Virgilian studies. Despite all attempts to do so, it seems unlikely that much light from it will reach us unequivocally or that our own scholarship will ever ascertain its dimensions or even do more than determine its rough position in the firmament. No doubt portions of Donatus's commentary existed throughout the middle ages, incorporated by various scholars at various times and in various places, knowingly and unknowingly, into

¹¹ See Brugnoli's note 'Donato, Elio', *EV* vol II, 125-7.

the huge mosaic of Virgilian scholia. No doubt portions of Donatus still survive, if we could but discern them. Nevertheless, the fact remains that whereas there still exist perhaps 150 manuscripts containing the commentary of Servius, wholly or in part, no one has preserved for us a commentary, or even a substantial portion of a commentary, clearly bearing the name of Aelius Donatus. In examining the non-Servian scholia it is worth bearing in mind that at any point we may be looking at a portion of Donatus without being aware of it. This question is of such importance that it will receive a chapter - Chapter Four - to itself.

In keeping with the general principles outlined above, then, this chapter will confine itself to a discussion of those of the surviving Virgil scholia which do not bear the certain name of an author.

At this point the complexity of the situation will be best demonstrated by setting out an extract of Virgil together with the corresponding glosses from the several scholia with which we are dealing, in order to compare their differing approaches to the exegesis of the text. I offer as an example:

Ecl.III.40:

'in medio duo signa, Conon et - quis fuit alter'

The scholia are as follows:

Servius

CONON dux fuit, cuius nomen dicit, quia in omnium ore versatur: nam philosophi tacet, quod non facile potest ad rusticum pervenire. et bene ea dicit philosophi, quae ad rusticum pertinent, ut 'tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet'.¹²

Scholia Bernensia

CONON, Samius genere, mathematicus, stellarum peritissimus magister, uel ut quidam, Alexandrinus qui cum Ptolemaeo fuit. QUIS FUIT ALTER. Quis, quidam. Cur nomen huius non posuit? Quia a Romanis occisus est. Et acute, ut eruditum pastorem induceret, et edoctum mathematicum significat et eundem philosophum, Platonis discipulum, uel ut quidam, Arati.¹³

Explanatio I

IN MEDIO DUO SIGNA CONON idest genere Samius, mathematicus fuit et stellarum peritissimus magister, qui cum Ptolemaeo vixit, rege Alexandrino, cuius discipulus dicitur Archimedes Syracusanus et a

¹² Thilo's text.

¹³ Hagen's text. Throughout the preface to my edition, Hagen's texts of the *Scholia Bernensia* and the *Explanations* will be used, unless otherwise noted. It is indeed the only edition in print and therefore the only one readily available. I shall argue subsequently - and indeed this is central to my thesis - that his text is to be treated with caution, as it is in reality a synthesis which can obscure the true character of the originals. The reader is asked, therefore, to accept his text tentatively, for the moment.

Romanis occisus est iam senior. ET QUIS FUIT ALTER
idest Eudoxum significat mathematicum, eundem
philosophum, Platonis discipulum, ut quidam aiunt.
Alii Hesiodum dicunt, qui Georgicum carmen
scripsit.¹⁴

Explanatio II

CONON idest genere Samius, mathematicus, stellarum
peritissimus magister. QUIS ALTER: quidam Eudoxum
vel Aratum. Eudoxum enim mathematicum, eundem
philosophum, Platonis discipulum dicunt. Quidam
vero Aratum. Alii Hesiodum dicunt, quia Georgicon
carmen scripserit. Item CONON qui cum Ptolemaeo
vixit, rege Alexandrino, cuius discipulus dicitur
Archimedes Syracusanus et a Romanis occisus est iam
senior.¹⁵

Scholia Veronensia

[ET QUIS FUIT ALTER -/ quaeritur, quis significatus
i]ta de pluribus sit. Alii namque Eudoxum tradunt,
plerique Aratum,/ [qui Phae]nomena scripserit;
nonnulli Archimeden, quidam Hipparchum vel etiam
Euctemonem; de Hesiodo / [cogitare in]pri]mis
convenit; aliqui Eucliden astrologum significari
putant. IN MEDIO Cornutus sic aestimat dic[tum
esse, ut]: In medio mihi Caesar erit pro
'eminebit'.¹⁶

14 Hagen's text.

15 Hagen's text.

16 Hagen's text.

Ps-Probus

CONON Samius mathematicus. Sed quamvis plures fuerint mathematici, eleganter errantem rusticum induxit dicentem <E.III.40>: Quis fuit alter? 'Alter' enim accipitur unus ex duobus. In alio sic: Conon mathematicus, Aegyptius natione, Ptolemaeo adsiduus, libros de astrologia VII reliquit. Alterum post Cononem quem dicat, incertum est, sed suspicantur Archimedes, quoniam Cononis discipulus; quidam Eudoxum Cnidium, qui de astrologia disputaverit; quidam Aratum, in quem videtur fides nutare, quoniam Prognostica fecerit; quidam Hesiodum, quod dixerit ita: < Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομένων >, quod et hic: <E.III.42>: Tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet.¹⁷

MS Voss. F. 79

CONON Samius genere mathematicus peritissimus. QUIS FUIT ALTER quis, quidam. Cur nomen eius non posuit? Quia a Romanis occisus est. Nomen autem eius Iodocus tornator, sed alii discipulum Platonis esse dicunt.¹⁸

The reader may draw two conclusions from the passages quoted above:

¹⁷ Hagen's text.

¹⁸ From the edition of J.J. Brewer, *An Analysis of the Berne Scholia and their Relationship to Philargyrius, the Servian Commentaries, and other Exegesis of Vergil's Eclogues*, unpublished dissertation presented to the University of Virginia, 1973.

1. Certain phrases and short sentences are common to two or more sets of scholia.

2. Another class are very similar, and such differences as do exist between them may possibly be imputed to scribal error, or the scribe may have wished to 'improve upon' the received text.

To these observations we add two more:

3. We are clearly very dependent on texts prepared by Hagen who, though meticulous in reporting the peculiarities of the manuscripts in his apparatus, nevertheless tended, by 'normalizing' spelling and filling large gaps in some manuscripts by transferring passages from others, to present his readers with a deceptively simple view of the actual situation.¹⁹

4. Numerous other instances could be adduced to demonstrate that the relationships apparent between two collections of scholia at any given point are not necessarily evident elsewhere: in other words, while there may be an evident kinship between some individual scholia

¹⁹ As a conspicuous example, the commentary on the first half of *Eclogue I* is missing from MS 172. Hagen's remedy is to fill the gap by publishing the appropriate sections from Bern MS 167. Of course he is scrupulous in footnoting his actions, but the effect is that we are given a false impression of the homogeneity of the *Scholia Bernensia*.

in, say, the Scholia Bernensia and Explanatio I, the same cannot be said of the two collections as a whole, since divergences are very frequent.

For example, in the above extracts there are in fact close similarities between the Scholia Bernensia and Explanatio I. Yet if we look at the Scholia on Ecl.VIII.8, to take a random example, we find the following:

Scholia Bernensia

Tua dicere facta, expugnationes urbium et bella.

Explanatio I

TUA FACTA DICERE idest tuas laudes dicere vel scribere.

Servius has no note on this line, nor do the other scholia from which we have quoted above, with the exception of Voss.F.79 which corresponds almost exactly to the reading of the Scholia Bernensia. This latter point is worth a comment. Hagen used Voss.F.79 as a subsidium to his edition of the Scholia Bernensia, yet the passages quoted above ad Ecl.III.40 show a difference which is evident elsewhere: this clearly illustrates the danger of being beguiled into believing in the homogeneity of the Scholia Bernensia as published by Hagen. The relationships which appear to exist between the scholia ad Ecl.III.40 are not in evidence ad Ecl.VIII.8, nor in numerous other passages. In examining the scholia, then,

it is important to keep a balanced mind: undoubtedly many interesting and early non-Servian scholia have come down to us from antiquity, yet it is not possible to point to any one of the anonymous commentaries under discussion here and say that it represents the work of any ancient author whole and entire.

Before proceeding to a more detailed examination of the Scholia Bernensia in the next chapter, one final observation may be made. In all the non-Servian scholia that have come down to us there is a surprising and disproportionate emphasis on the two shorter works of Virgil, an emphasis that does not appear to be reflected in the manuscript tradition of the poems themselves. In view of the strong palaeographical and other evidence that both the Scholia Bernensia and the two Explanationes derive from an insular, and specifically Irish, milieu,²⁰ I am cautiously of the view that this apparent emphasis on the Eclogues and the Georgics may reflect a regional (that is to say an insular) rather than a universal trend in the early medieval study of Virgil within the context of monastic education.

²⁰ For example see Beeson, 'Insular Symptoms'. For an indication that an insular tradition may underlie even our manuscripts of Servius, see Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius* 5, 38.

3. THE SCHOLIA BERNENSIA AND RELATED MATERIAL¹

In the preceding chapter we encountered for the first time a number of extracts from the so-called Scholia Bernensia, set forth side by side with other glosses of a similar character, in order to establish the context in which we are working. It is now appropriate to examine the Scholia Bernensia more closely.

The Scholia Bernensia are a set of glosses on the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil drawn from (and of course named after) certain manuscripts now in Bern. The unravelling of the mysteries of the Scholia Bernensia and related texts was the lifelong work of Funaioli, whose Esegesi Virgiliana Antica was intended to be the prolegomena to an edition of his own which he never completed.² The most recent readily available editions of this material are those of Hagen, but as I have suggested earlier they are in many respects inadequate to the needs of modern scholarship.

The problem of the Scholia Bernensia is inextricably tied up with that of a certain Philargyrius (or Filargirius), as well as the two less important figures, Gaudentius and Gallus.³

1 Much of the material in this chapter was published in the article *Scholia non serviana*, written jointly by Professor Geymonat and myself, in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* IV.

2 Funaioli's painstaking analysis of the scholia will always merit deep respect. I have in my own possession many of his transcriptions of the manuscripts which exhibit the same attention to detail; it is a pity that he was never able to undertake the collation of them.

3 Gallus is of significance only in regard to the glosses on the *Georgics*, where his comments are said to do little more than reproduce Servius. See Conington

Let us begin, then, with a survey of the manuscript evidence, taking as the most convenient and accessible entry point not the Scholia Bernensia proper, but a set of related material with which the Scholia Bernensia are very closely connected.

Three manuscripts of the ninth century (Florence Laur.Plut.XLV.14; Paris BN lat. 7960; Paris BN lat. 11308: named respectively L, N and P by Hagen and Funaioli) each contain two short commentaries on the Eclogues, together with an incomplete commentary on the first two books of the Georgics. These were published by Hagen, in his Appendix Serviana, under the titles 'Iunii Philargyrii Grammatici Explanatio I et II in Bucolica Vergilii', and 'Anonymi Brevis Expositio Vergilii Georgicorum'. They are commonly known nowadays, as we have already noted, by their short titles Explanatio I, Explanatio II, and the Brevis Expositio; an earlier generation of scholars was usually content to refer to them collectively (and somewhat uncritically, as we shall see) as 'Philargyrius'.⁴

The use of the name 'Philargyrius' now calls for some comment. There is no manuscript warrant for this form of the author's name, though its use has been tradi-

1898, pp. xcvi-ix, and M. Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* II, 1927, p.108.

⁴ Some older scholars seem to have applied the name 'Philargyrius' to *Explanatio I* only, following a logic which is more conventional than considered. It certainly obscures much of their writing on the subject.

tional since the appearance in 1489 of Poliziano's editio princeps. The employment of the name in any form is based upon a colophon to Explanatio I, 'Explanatio Iunii Filargirii (sic) Grammatici explicit', and a similar colophon to Explanatio II: 'explicit Explanatio Iunii Filagirii Grammatici in Bucolica Valentiniano'. Both colophons occur in all three manuscripts.⁵ Only Explanatio I is actually provided with a title or superscription: 'In nomine Dei summi in Bucolica pauca ordinantur fona'.

The Brevis Expositio is apparently a relatively straightforward alternative redaction of the Georgics material in the Scholia Bernensia, and it poses comparatively few problems of authorship and descent which cannot be better addressed by reference to the two Explanations. An examination of these, however, sets the scene for a discussion of the whole tradition and raises some interesting questions which are best considered at this point.

1. If, as at first appears, and as many scholars have long been content to believe, Explanatio I is an abridged version of the work of a single ancient Roman commentator named 'Philargyrius', while Explanatio II is merely a further abridgement of it, how is it that in

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the name, and a courageous attempt to identify its owner, see M. Geymonat, 'Filargirio gallo-romano?'

certain positions the two short commentaries appear to differ significantly from each other? For example, ad Ecl.V.29, Explanatio I has:

'TIGRIS idest flumen orientale, et bestiae convenit.
Inmanes enim et feros homines docuit ab Augusto
domari',

while Explanatio II reads:

'SUBIUNGERE TIGRES idest inmites et feras gentes,
vel sacra Liberi patris Iulius duxit de Armenia ad
Romam'.

The latter, it may be said, conveys some of the sense, but not the language, of Servius's note.

2. What is one to make of the frequent occurrence, in both Explanations but particularly in Explanatio I, of a total of approximately 130 glosses in the Old Irish language and of the appearance of the apparently Irish name 'Adamnanus' as author or editor in Explanatio I ad Ecl.III.90?

3. Finally, there are glosses in the Explanations whose very simplicity seems to exclude the possibility that they could have come from the pen of a relatively sophisticated early commentator such as Philargyrius has been thought to have been: such, for example, are 'a idest eheu' (Explanatio II ad Ecl.I.15) and 'Veneris

idest amoris' (Explanatio I and II ad Ecl.VIII.78). Are these scholia from a period much later than the era posited for Philargyrius?

It is now time at last to turn to the Scholia Bernensia themselves, as they exist in the manuscripts. The reader is referred to Hagen's edition, naturally, as a starting point, but more particularly to Funaioli for a full survey of the eleven manuscripts on which, in the latter's view, a satisfactory future edition would be based, together with a further 65 later manuscripts which (he maintains) might serve as occasional subsidia to such an edition.⁶ It will suffice, for the present purposes, to confine our observations on the Scholia Bernensia to the four most important manuscripts, three of them in the City of Bern's Burgerbibliothek, from which of course the scholia take their name. These four alone contain quantities of common material which are substantial enough to demonstrate a clear family relationship, though even here, as we shall see, there is a hierarchy of value: Bern MS 172 is by far the most complete.⁷

These are the four manuscripts.

6 *Esegesi Virgiliana Antica*, pp. 8-36.

7 If a term like 'complete' is excusable in a field that is almost defined by incompleteness! In dealing with things like glosses, by what standard does one judge completeness unless, like Hagen, one accepts the existence of a complete 'original' which may, in theory, be recoverable?

1. Codex Bernensis 172 (B in Hagen and Funaioli), the subject of the present edition, is a mid-ninth century manuscript written in caroline minuscules at a northern French centre such as Auxerre or Fleury. At an early date it was certainly in the possession of the Monastery of St Benedict at Fleury, hence its common appellation 'Floriacensis'. The manuscript appears to have been written by a single scribe, Ildemarus, who puts his name to it. Here I refer to the literary texts themselves, not to the scholia: in my view it would not be possible to ascribe the latter securely to the same scribe, though the hands are of approximately the same date. On balance it seems most likely that the manuscript was in fact written and glossed at Fleury though it is of interest to note that Munk Olsen is cautious about assigning other virgiliana to that origin.⁸ The codex contains texts of the Eclogues, the Georgics and the Aeneid (which breaks off in Book VI, the remainder (apart from one missing quire) being preserved as Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 7929).⁹ Portions of the Aeneid are glossed with the Servius-Daniel commentary ('Servius Auctus'), and do not concern us here. The

8 He says that 'le f.192 et certaines gloses' in Vatican Reg. lat. 1669 'semblent y avoir été copiés'.

9 The codex was broken up in s. 16 by Pierre Daniel. For a full description and bibliography, see Funaioli, and Munk Olsen *L'Étude des Auteurs Classiques Latins*, vol 2, 705; descriptions of the other important Bern MSS 165 and 167 are provided on pp. 703-4 of the same volume. The best and most succinct description, however, is also the most recent, namely that of Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, 60-1, who thinks it likely that the manuscript was written at Fleury. Happily Mostert also includes first-rate brief surveys of MSS 165 and 167, on the grounds that both these have been (mistakenly) linked with Fleury in the past.

Scholia Bernensia themselves are glosses in both the left and right hand margins of the texts of the Eclogues and the Georgics.¹⁰

These Scholia Bernensia are very extensive, and often repetitive: sometimes they appear to present the reader with several interpretations of the same word or phrase, without attempting to distinguish between them, to assimilate them, or to reduce their number when they are in substantial agreement.

Frequently (there are precisely sixty occurrences in the commentaries on the Eclogues in MS 172) a gloss is accompanied by the phrase 'Iunilius dicit', or 'Iunilius Flagrius dicit', apparently as a means of designating the source of the information. Less frequently (there are nine instances in the same material) the phrase 'Gaudentius dicit' appears in similar circumstances.¹¹ On the last page of the text of the Bucolics (23v) appears the following note:

10 Here, as so often, notice how closely the Scholia Bernensia and Servius march together, the latter doing sterling service for the Aeneid, the former for the shorter poems.

11 These occurrences are not evenly distributed. I give below the number of the *Eclogue*, followed by the occurrences of 'Iunilius' and 'Gaudentius', in that order, separated by a slash: I - 3/1; II - nil/nil; III - nil/nil; IV - nil/nil; V - 18/1; VI - 6/3; VII - 6/3; VIII - 18/1; IX - 5/nil; X - 4/nil.

As to distribution between columns, the following are the occurrences of 'Iunilius': I - L.1/R.2; V - L.11/R.7; VI - L.1/R.5; VII - L.2/R.4; VIII - L.13/R.5; IX - L.5/R.nil; X - L.2/R.2. The name thus occurs a total of 35 times in the left-hand column, and 25 in the right: surely not a significant distribution.

'haec omnia de commentariis Romanorum congregavi,
idest Titi Galli, et Gaudentii et maxime Iunilii
Flagrii Mediolanensis'.

Hagen prints this note, following Mommsen,¹² at the beginning of the commentary on the Georgics. The first folios of this codex are missing, and the text of the Eclogues, together with the first gloss begins ad Ecl.I.49.

2. Codex Bernensis 167 (C in Hagen and Funaioli) is of similar date, perhaps a little later, and equally difficult to identify with precision as to place of origin: the consensus is that it was written somewhere in the region of the Loire, very possibly Auxerre, hence its common title 'Autissiodorensis'. It is judged by Hagen generally to provide readings inferior to those of the Floriacensis.¹³ Moreover, it has one enormous deficiency: it contains only a version of those scholia which appear in the left-hand margin of B. Therefore, while it is used by Hagen to fill the lacuna at the beginning of his edition of the Scholia Bernensia, it may be supposed that half the original scholia before Ecl.I.49, together with any introductory material which might be presumed to have existed in B, are lost or at least that they cannot be reconstructed with complete confidence from the evidence of other manuscripts.

12 'Zu den Scholien', 446.

13 *Scholia Bernensia, Praefatio*, 19-22.

Another point of interest in Bern MS 167 is that the glosses on Virgil include about 56 definitions apparently in the Old-Irish language which Hagen in his edition lists separately,¹⁴ on the grounds that, as they extend also into the text of the Georgics and the Aeneid, they must be regarded as strictly extraneous to the Scholia Bernensia proper.

3. Codex Bernensis 165 'Turonensis' (D in Hagen and Funaioli) is generally of less value again, in the view of its editors. According to Mostert it was written in the first quarter of the ninth century, certainly at Tours. Some of the glosses, if not the main text, may be ascribed to the hand of one Beruo, a pupil of Alcuin. The glosses, which are the work of several different hands, may be of occasional value in establishing readings (eg ad Geo.IV.7), but they include glosses apparently stemming from another tradition, which Hagen prints in an appendix.¹⁵ The Eclogues glosses lack both title and colophon, though for the most part they appear to belong within the same tradition as the Scholia Bernensia and may be used with caution as a subsidium.

And in addition to the above:

14 *Praefatio*, 21-2.

15 pp. 317-26.

4. Codex Leidensis Voss. F.79 (Called V by Funaioli). That this manuscript belongs in some way to the same tradition as the Scholia Bernensia is clear from the colophon: 'haec omnia de commentariis Romanorum congregavi, id est Titi Galli et Gaudentii et maxime Iunilii Flagrii Mediolanentium' (Brewer's edition). Nevertheless, like D it must be used with great caution as a subsidium to the text of the Scholia Bernensia. Funaioli gives an instance (ad Ecl.II.31) where the gloss is, in his view, more closely related to the tradition of the Explanationes. The material is given here for comparison by the reader, for it is typical of the kind of 'overlap' which faces the researcher in this field.

MS Voss.F.79

IMITABERE futurus vel imperativus. MECUM IMITABERE
PANA sicut enim ille de amore canit sic et ego.
PANA accusativus Graecus. Dicitur enim Pan fieri.
Pan natus est Mercurio in arietem converso et
Penelope uxore Ulixis; adamavit vero Syringam
nympham, filiam Terrae, quae fugiens eius
informitatem in calamum conversa est, unde Graece
fistula syringa dicitur. Cum non posset pro fluvii
magnitudine transnatare, fuis precibus meruit in
calamum transfigurari. Ex quo ille fistulam fecit et
amorem cantu delectabat, quoniam amoris suo aliter
satisfacere non poterat. Pan autem dicitur
pastorum.¹⁶

16 Brewer's edition.

Scholia Bernensia

Imitabere, futurum uel imperatiuus. Imitabere, imitaberis. Mecum imitabere Pana, sicut ille de amore canit, sic et ego. Pana, accusatiuus Graecus. Imitabere Pana. Dicitur enim Pan Syringa Nympham amasse, quam dum persequeretur, in calamum uersam esse, et exinde Pan fistulam fecisse unde Graece fistula syrinx dicitur.¹⁷

Explanatio I

PAN PRIMUS idest Syringam cum Pan persequeretur, versa est in calamos. Unde Graece syringa dicitur fistula. Pan idest natura omnium rerum, inventor fistulae. Pan, pastoralis Deus, per cornua solem significat et lunam, per fistulam VII planetas stellas, per pellem maculosam caeli sidera, per cannam ventos, per pedum tenuitatem aeris, per ungulas caprinas soliditatem terrae. Villosus est, quia vestitis gaudet terra. Hic autem natus est Mercurio in arietem conuerso et Penelope, uxore Ulixi, et adamavit uero Syringam Nympham, quae fugiens eius informitatem in calamum versa est seu fistulam et amorem suum cantu delectabat. Ac (cum) non posset magnitudinem fluminis transire, fuis precibus meruit in calamum transfigurari, quo praeciso quoniam amori suo satis facere aliter non poterat, cantu delectabatur uelut adloquio.¹⁸

17 My edition.

18 Hagen's edition.

These examples will further demonstrate the fluidity of the situation and the complex interrelationships underlying the various manifestations of scholia in each manuscript. The reader is again reminded that even such similarities as appear to exist may be to an extent illusory: we are still reliant on texts which were prepared on the assumption that behind every manuscript or family of manuscripts there lay a single authoritative autograph, a mode of thinking which is acceptable for Virgil and the other classical authors themselves, but will be called into question in the case of the scholia. It will be recalled that Funaioli spoke of no less than eleven manuscripts which would have something to contribute to a proper edition of the Scholia Bernensia. From the above discussion of the four most important of them, the reader may well imagine that the remaining seven of Funaioli's group bear scarcely the faintest family resemblance to their distant cousins. There may be relationships between individual glosses, but in no meaningful sense between whole collections of scholia.

On the other hand we must not overreact against the practice of scholarship in the past, which was optimistic about the possibility of identifying and even reconstructing the several discrete elements which lie at the heart of the manuscript tradition. It would indeed be an overreaction to say that the non-Servian scholia that have survived are hopelessly and inextricably contaminated by a long tradition of scribal cross-

pollination. Distinctive elements are discernible, without doubt, and some further progress may be made in identifying them, but one ought to be pessimistic about the likelihood of our being able to identify exactly or reconstruct with confidence the work of such as 'Philargyrius' - or of Aelius Donatus.

In the light of all that has been said, we may summarize the position so far as follows:

1. There is a clear relationship - though its exact form is very difficult to trace - between the so-called Scholia Bernensia (including the material in Voss.F.79), the Explanationes (for the Eclogues), and the Brevis Expositio (for the Georgics). There seems no good reason to doubt the general and long-standing view of scholars that the Iunilius Flagrius of the Scholia Bernensia is to be identified with the Filargirius of the Explanationes. Moreover, a great deal of the expository material is common to both the Explanationes and the Brevis Expositio on the one hand, and the Scholia Bernensia on the other.

2. Since the work of Funaioli, there has likewise been agreement among scholars that we are dealing here with two redactions of the one original commentary on the Eclogues and the Georgics, redaction 'a' being the name applied to the antecedent of the two Explanationes together with the Brevis Expositio, while the term redaction 'b' is reserved to the Scholia Bernensia and their train of related material.

3. The presence, in both redactions, of glosses in the Old Irish language, together with the evidence of abbreviations and orthography,¹⁹ suggest that the origins of the original commentary lay in an Irish speech community, which may have been in Ireland itself but could have been at an Irish centre on the continent, such as Laon or Reims. There is widespread, but by no means universal, agreement that the compiler of the original commentary from which both redactions derive was Adamnán, ninth Abbot of Iona (died 704 AD). This question is taken up again in Chapter Five.

4. The most striking difference between redactions 'a' and 'b' is that 'a' has come down to us in the form of integrated running commentaries which appear on their own in the manuscripts, detached from the poems to which they refer. By contrast, the material in the most important manuscripts of redaction 'b' exists in the form of marginal notes. The tradition of redaction 'a' is very much simpler: both Explanationes occur in each of the three manuscripts, which are of similar date and provenance. It is not impossible, and in the opinion of the present writer it is indeed likely, that all three derive from the same archetype.²⁰

19 See Beeson, 'Insular Symptoms'. The whole article deserves careful study.

20 I advanced this view in my 1981 dissertation.

The problems surrounding redaction 'b' are very different - more complex if, like Hagen, one assumes that there is (or was) a venerable 'original' to be recovered; simpler, if one is prepared to accept that it is just what it appears to be, an attempt by a medieval scholar or scholars to collect nuggets of useful Virgilian lore from whatever sources were available to them. A credible integrated text of the 'Scholia Bernensia', using that term in the broad sense to which generations of scholars have become accustomed, rather than merely a reliable edition of the scholia in Bern MS 172 with subsidia drawn cautiously from certain other manuscripts, may be impossible to achieve. To attempt such an edition may indeed be to 'ask the wrong questions' of the manuscripts, a point which is fundamental to my thesis.

What are the distinctive features of the Scholia Bernensia, if we may now, in the light of all that has been said above, permit ourselves the use of this generic term to describe the whole family of manuscripts? In what respect do they differ, in their treatment and exposition of the text of Virgil, from the usage of Servius? The most important differences and special characteristics may be listed as follows:

1. In general the scholia appear to be aimed at a lower level of need, relatively more space being devoted to providing the reader with definitions of single words and simple phrases. The overall effect is to give an impression of naivety relative to the rather more

sophisticated approach of Servius. This impression is reinforced by the Old-Irish glosses in redaction 'a', many of which are simple translations of Latin botanical or zoological names. For example, ad Ecl.III.27 Explanatio II explains 'stipula' as 'cuislen', 'pipe'. Almost all the Old-Irish glosses are of this type.²¹

2. The material is very poorly integrated. It is quite clear that at some stage in the tradition a compiler has had available to him a variety of different glosses on the same lemma, all of which he has copied, without making any attempt to distinguish the more plausible among them, or to evaluate them in any way at all. For example, ad Ecl.IV.1:

'Sicelides. Siciliae facit mentionem, quia Theocritum Siculum imitatur in Bucolicis. Musae, vocativus casus. Paulo maiora, maiorem laudem. Sicelides Musae, Musas Siculas invocat, quoniam Siculus fuit Theocritus, quem in Bucolicis imitatur. Sicelides idest Sicilienses. Paulo maiora canamus, quia novum saeculum, de quo dicturus est, vetus precellit'.

Such a passage, which is of a type very common throughout the Scholia Bernensia, suggests that several glosses of differing origin were dutifully copied into the margin by a diligent if uncritical scribe. This

21 Thurneysen, 'The Glosses on the Bucolics', 66.

particular specimen appears to be a melange of three different glosses on the lemma 'Sicelides' and two on 'paulo maiora canamus', a total of five 'strands' of material. Even the order is dislocated. In many clusters of this sort, one or more of the component glosses are ascribed by name to Iunilius or Gaudentius by the use of a formula, as described above, such as 'Iunilius dicit'. In this case, however, none are, and we are obliged to try to interpret this silence. We must consider the following questions:

i. May we assume that none of the glosses in this group derive from one of the three allegedly ancient commentators named in the colophon, but that only those glosses to which the names of Iunilius, Gaudentius or Gallus are actually attached can be regarded as genuine ancient material?

ii. If a component 'strand' of a gloss such as this appears also in one of the Explanationes (which, if we interpret their colophon literally, are the very work of Filargirius - or Philargyrius, to use the spelling long preferred by a majority of scholars) may we accept this as evidence that it originated with Philargyrius himself, even though the characteristic phrase 'Iunilius dicit' is absent in the Scholia Bernensia? A very large number of the glosses are in this category.

iii. What shall we say of those cases, not common but by no means rare, where a gloss ascribed by name to Iunilius in the Scholia Bernensia is actually contradicted by one or both of the Explanaciones? For example ad Ecl.I.54 we find the following:

Scholia Bernensia

Hyblaeis. Hybla mons in Sicilia uel locus in Attica, ubi mel optimum nascitur. Gaudentius dicit. Set tamen Iunilius dicit ciuitatem Hispaniae.

Explanatio I

HYBLAEIS idest Hybla, quae postea Megara, oppidum Siciliae, vel locus in Attica, ubi optimum mel nascitur.

Explanatio II

HYBLAEIS idest mons in Sicilia, ubi optimum mel nascitur...

In case this should appear to be merely an instance of the scribe confusing the names Filargirius and Gaudentius, see Scholia Bernensia ad Ecl. VII.37 where the same statements are repeated.

iv. If we in fact elect to take a sceptical view as to the authorship of the glosses, and accept only as genuine Philargyrius, Gaudentius and Gallus those passages which are expressly designated as theirs in the Scholia Bernensia, what view shall we take of the author-

ship of such clusters of glosses as that on 'Sicelides' above? Are we now dealing with two or three commentators other than Philargyrius and his presumed contemporaries, and if so who might they be? It has long been recognized that the tradition could have been contaminated by direct borrowing from Servius, and that this did in fact occur is quite clear from, for example, the prooemium to Explanatio II, where a section of Servius's preamble to the Georgics has inadvertently been included,²² and indeed throughout the scholia under discussion we find numerous glosses which are consistent with a Servian origin. Likewise, is St Isidore a possible source of some of this unnamed material? Recent research²³ has demonstrated that the Etymologiae were available at a very early date in Ireland and could therefore have been accessible to an Irish compiler of the Scholia Bernensia. For example, the note in Explanatio II ad Ecl.III.8 repeats Isidore verbatim, though it must be mentioned that Isidore's own words share some similarities with those of Servius on the same passage, from which we may infer either that Isidore's words were abstracted from Servius, or that both drew upon a common source. It has been suggested that Servius and Isidore independently made direct use of Philargyrius,²⁴ but in the present situation such an

22 Hagen, 'Appendix Serviana', 5. The composition of this prooemium was discussed in my own edition of *Explanatio II, Explanatio in Bucolica - A New Edition of an Early Medieval Scholar's Notes on the Eclogues of Vergil*, noted earlier.

23 For example Ó Cuív, 'Medieval Irish Scholars' (1981), and Hillgarth, 'Ireland and Spain' (1984).

24 McFarlane, 'Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods', 1980.

opinion seems improbable, in view of the fact that the Scholia Bernensia offer a very different gloss. This passage must therefore have been taken from Isidore at some time after the separation of the two traditions of redaction 'a' and 'b'. Two passages in the Scholia Bernensia (III.111 and IX.29) mention Isidore by name (the former somewhat equivocally), but their precise sources cannot be traced in Isidore's surviving works.

v. If we are dealing with a collection, as is suggested by the colophon to the Scholia Bernensia, of comments gleaned from 'Philargyrius', Gaudentius and Gallus, why are notes of the type 'Iunilius dicit' necessary at all, or, conversely, why do they not appear after every gloss as a guarantee of authorship? In fact, as we have seen, of the several hundred glosses in the Scholia Bernensia on the Eclogues, only 60 are attributed by name to Iunilius, and a mere nine to Gaudentius. Is this merely laziness on the part of the scribe? That would surely be unlikely in a tradition which has punctiliously and often tediously preserved several strands of similar scholia side by side.

It is my view that the only solution to the above problems is to suppose that the Scholia Bernensia and its related texts are not exactly what they claim to be, that too much weight has been placed on their titles and colophons, and that these are deficient or inaccurate in their description of the texts. What follows can of

course only be a hypothesis, but it seems likely that the original description (not to say title) of this material was something like:

PAUCA FONA QUAE DE COMMENTARIIS ROMANORUM ET ALIORUM
CONGREGAVI

which was then itself glossed at some stage in the transmission:

IDEST TITI GALLI ET GAUDENTII ET MAXIME IUNILII
FILARGIRII MEDIOLANENSIS.

At a later stage, one may continue to suppose, the unimpressive ET ALIORUM was abandoned and the second gloss was incorporated into the title. Subsequently redactions 'a' and 'b' made different use of this, by now, cumbrous title.

Such a hypothesis as this would, of course, diminish the importance of 'Philargyrius' (not to mention the other two far less significant figures) in the whole tradition, and divert more attention to the compiler who so painstakingly, if often naively, put all this information together. We would then have to conclude that the only portions of the original 'Philargyrian' commentary to have survived with certainty are those which in the Scholia Bernensia are specifically designated as such, together presumably with the obviously cognate material in the Explanationes. It may perhaps be observed at this

point that if the compiler made use of the commentary of Aelius Donatus, as Thomson and others were wont to suggest, he must have done so unaware, for he never mentions him. But more of this in the next chapter.

3. We next come to the question of content, and the ways in which the matter of the Scholia Bernensia and their related texts differs from that of Servius. Apart from the general impression which these scholia give that they are aimed at a relatively less sophisticated type of reader, there are three more specific qualities which are worthy of note:

i. The Scholia Bernensia display a greater preoccupation with, and tolerance for, allegory than is apparent in Servius, whose reluctance to resort to allegorical interpretations is well known.²⁵ So, for example, ad Ecl.II.41 we may contrast Servius's matter-of-factness with the Scholia Bernensia:

Duo capreoli. Allegorice in duobus capreolis duos libros Georgicorum uel ut alii, Georgica et Aeneidos, quae cum difficultate condidit, uult intellegi, quos se dicit Augusto servare, non, ut alii, Cassium et Brutum.

²⁵ *Ad Ecl.III.71*, Servius says: 'et volunt quidam hoc loco allegoriam esse ad Augustum de decem eclogis: quod superfluum est: quae enim necessitas hoc loco allegoriae?'

Examples of this type of allegorical interpretation are very common throughout the material. Incidentally, one would like to know to whom the word 'alii' in passages such as this refers.

ii. The Scholia Bernensia show relatively little interest in matters of grammar and prosody. Such interest as is shown is severely practical, or serves merely to point out unusual features of language or metre. So ad Ecl.V.24 we find:

NON ULLI, uersus XIII syllabarum.

iii. There is some evidence that the compiler was a Christian. As one would expect, this is most apparent in Ecl.IV, where there are several direct references to Christ (for example at verses 4 and 7), and to Mary (verse 6) in all the texts. ad Ecl.VI.31 Explanatio II has a note, 'COACTA SEMINA idest collectae materiae creaturarum de atomis minimis, ut gentiles putant', though the Scholia Bernensia, in a rather different gloss, prefers the use of the term philosophi.

This concludes my general survey of the Scholia Bernensia and its related texts. We have been at pains to point out the confused and cross-contaminated nature of this diverse collection of glosses. While it may be allowed that portions of the material have been taken from otherwise unknown pagan commentators of late antiquity, such as Philargyrius, Gaudentius, Gallus and

perhaps others, it is quite clear that neither redaction 'a' or 'b' can, as a whole, be described simply as the work of any of these men. A great many different 'strands' of information about the text of Virgil, some of course much more valuable than others, can be discerned, and it is to be hoped that the uncritical practice, common in the past among scholars of Virgil, of speaking of 'Philargyrius' as if his commentary survived whole and entire, might at last be abandoned.

The attention of scholars ought now be directed rather to the original compiler of the collection, and to the literary milieu in which he lived. Before we set out on this trail, however, it is necessary to face - and I hope find the means to by-pass - one formidable if fascinating obstacle.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOST COMMENTARY OF AELIUS DONATUS ON SURVIVING SCHOLIA¹

In any study of the scholia on Virgil it is impossible to go far without encountering the name of Aelius Donatus, whose comprehensive 'variorum' commentary on the three poems of Virgil, though now lost, is said to loom behind such commentaries as have come down to us, and even to have survived itself, in part, through the plagiarism of later authors. For a hundred years nobody has been able to talk or write about any of the surviving ancient and medieval commentaries on Virgil without paying due regard to Donatus. Has a lost book ever been so influential?

My intention in this chapter is to try to do two things, which are really complementary. Firstly, I would like to lay the ghost of Aelius Donatus; not by consigning his bones to an unmarked grave (for his grave is indeed occasionally sign-posted) and certainly not to a dishonoured one, but by putting him to rest with his own generation, and not invoking his aid when our contempt for the medieval mind makes us desperate. Secondly, I would like to encourage a rapprochement between classicists and medievalists, by drawing the attention of the former away from their usual fondness for Quellenforschung and literary aetiology, towards a

1 The substance of this article was published as 'The Virgil Commentary of Aelius Donatus - Black Hole or "Éminence Grise"?', 1990.

greater sympathy for the actual processes of scholarship as practised at the time of the 'Carolingian renaissance' and during the two centuries which preceded it.

The means I propose to employ in the pursuit of these aims will consist, for the most part, of an examination of the methodology of a number of modern scholars who have interested themselves in the history of the scholia. There is a prolix modern literature on the Virgil scholia, most of it devoted to the painstaking analysis and comparison of hundreds of separate glosses and scholia items, so that he who believes that the treatment of the question has been methodologically flawed, must either commit himself to an exhaustive examination of each piece of evidence, or sidestep this kind of approach altogether and instead confront the methodology itself.

Aelius Donatus was well known throughout the middle ages, both as a distinguished grammarian and as a commentator on the Roman comedian Terence. He also wrote a Life of Virgil, very authoritative and no doubt based closely on that of Suetonius, as well as a brief introduction to the Bucolics. All these works survive to the present time.² However, Donatus himself tells us, and this is confirmed by St Jerome and by Servius, who appears to quote from it, that he wrote a full commentary

2 See G. Brugnoli, 'Donato, Elio', *EV* vol II, 125-7.

on the whole of Virgil, a commentary which, apart from the scattered allusions in Servius, seems to have entirely vanished.³

Now we can come, at last, to the crux of the matter. In 1916 a distinguished American scholar, E.K. Rand, published an article in which he claimed that the 'danieline' or 'D' material in Servius auctus, which I discussed in chapter one, was 'the very work of (Aelius) Donatus' - though there seems to be implicit in his view a recognition that some changes to the text occurred at the time this amalgamation of Servius and Donatus was supposed to have taken place, at the hands of an Irishman or an Englishman in the eighth century.⁴ He was not the first to think along these lines, but his clear and uncompromising statement of the theory, brief though it was and far from rigorously argued, carried tremendous authority and set a course which the majority of scholars have followed ever since. Rand was reinforced by such scholars as Savage, Lindsay, Thomson and Mountford, the latter adducing the evidence of the glossaries, some of whose entries, expressly ascribed to Donatus by name, closely resembled passages in 'D'.⁵ The Italian scholar Santoro went a step further and maintained that 'D' and Donatus's Virgil commentary were, quite simply, the same thing, a view which had been convincingly

3 *Ibid.* esp. 126.

4 'Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil lost?', 158-64.

5 J.F. Mountford, *Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries*, cites eight glossary items which, he says, must have come from a Virgil commentary of Donatus. See esp. 33.

precluded by Travis's comparative study, published a year earlier, of the language of 'D' and Donatus's surviving commentary on Terence.⁶ Nevertheless the theory in its broad lines still holds sway and has indeed been joined by another, which asserts that the original commentary from which the Scholia Bernensia and the Explanationes derive, generally ascribed to the authorship of Adamnán, abbot of Iona at the end of the seventh century, was itself heavily indebted to Donatus, either directly or through the intermediary of the shadowy Filargirius.⁷

We spoke earlier of the flawed methodology of those who have advanced these views. It is now time to look at the process of thought which has led to the formulation of their theories, for it is only thus that we shall find a way to extricate ourselves from the tangle of a hundred years of scholarship which has certainly been punctilious, but may have been often misdirected as well. I shall examine this question of methodology under several heads.

1. Firstly, there is a very evident desire on the part of scholars from Rand onwards to provide valuable anonymous scholia with a respectable paternity, certainly with a late-antique pedigree if a classical one cannot be managed. So we find Rand saying of 'D':

6 A. Santoro, 'Il "Servio Danielino" e Donato', 79-104; A.H. Travis, 'Donatus and the Scholia Danielis: a Stylistic Comparison', 157-69.

7 So for example H.J. Thomson in his preface to W.M. Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina*, 53.

'who can its author be? One answer tempts us, as we think of possibilities in the fourth century. It is tempting to think that Aelius Donatus's commentary on Virgil is not lost, but has been read unwittingly by several generations of scholars in the larger Servius or Daniel'.⁸

He then in fact succumbs to temptation, and supports his case with a argument based on coincidences of language and the occasional naming of Donatus as a source in Servius and the glossaries, concluding with an extraordinary challenge:

'the burden of proof rests on those who think that D is not Donatus but an intermediate link between Donatus and Servius. Seeing no compelling argument for the assumption of such an intermediary, I conclude that we have in D the very work of Donatus'.⁹

Implicit in all this is a dangerous prejudice in favour of the idea that every intellectual attainment during the middle ages must derive from, and be traceable to, a classical original. One may find many other instances of this mentality at work in Rand and others of his school.

8 Rand, 159-60.

9 *Ibid.*, 164.

2. Next, a distinctly patronizing attitude is adopted towards the scribes and compilers of the collections of scholia. Rand, for example, says that

'the union of the two elements S and D on a tolerably careful and consistent plan is not too difficult an achievement for the early Middle Ages'.¹⁰

Lindsay describes Martin of Laon as 'an Irishman, every inch of him' and goes on to laugh at his etymological follies.¹¹ Goold describes the compiler of S and D as 'a hack, without taste or learning or brains'.¹² As to this last remark, whether or not one considers that the obligations of courtesy ought to extend over a period as long as a thousand years, he does his cause no good service by underrating his enemies, or by confusing a shortage of facilities with a lack of intelligence. A consequence of this whole attitude, of course, is that the modern investigator's judgement is impaired: every foolish statement in the glosses must be assumed to be medieval, while every sound comment must derive from an earlier age. Consider the possibilities for error and the circularity of thought implicit in these remarks from Mountford:

10 *Ibid.*, 159.

11 W.M. Lindsay, in a review of his own *Glossaria Latina*, 1927, 95.

12 G.P. Goold, 'Servius and the Helen Episode', 116.

'there is no a priori ground whatsoever for attributing any of these [glosses] to a compiler's personal investigations', and 'the compiler of a medieval glossary...did not produce half of his material out of his own head, or search it all out for himself...only to a very limited extent did he "create" his glossary'.¹³

Elsewhere the same author specifically denies that the compiler of a glossary 'indulged in personal research'.¹⁴

This same lack of respect for medieval attempts at scholarship leads to a cavalier approach to the scribes themselves, and to their modes of work; no really searching attempt is made, for example, to distinguish between the junior copyist (whose work is indeed often feeble enough) and the head of the scriptorium or the abbot who is ultimately responsible for the undertaking, and may indeed personally participate in the copying of a text and even, in the case of a non-literary document such as a commentary, make additions of his own. Mountford would himself surely want us to distinguish his work from that of his typesetter. Another example of this line of thinking: Lindsay discovers in Pliny the Elder a note which he considers, no doubt quite correctly, to be the origin of the Bern scholium on Georgics IV.14. He

13 Mountford, 15-6.

14 *Ibid.*, 26.

therefore concludes that Donatus is the intermediary.¹⁵ It is inconceivable to him that a medieval scholar could have carried out original 'research', yet what are we to make of the fact that we can with assurance name 16 separate manuscripts or fragments of Pliny which were copied in France in the ninth century?¹⁶ Can we really believe that these were put to no rational use by those who ordered their production?

3. There is an assumption common to classical scholars of the Quellenforschung school that if an older writer and a more recent writer say the same thing, then the latter has necessarily derived his version from the former's. In other words there is a tendency to confuse identification, so to speak, with derivation. Now this assumption is perfectly allowable when a direct quote is involved, by which I would suggest as a safe minimum a sequence of at least three words in correct order, but unfortunately the followers of Rand have been more prodigal than that. Examples of this are legion; suffice it to say here that Thomson's attempt to establish a kinship between the following glosses from the Abstrusa glossary, chosen at random from the hundreds in his list, with similar items from the Bern scholia appears unconvincing:¹⁷

15 'Gleanings from Glossaries and Scholia', part 4, 106.

16 These are listed in B. Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des Auteurs Classiques Latins aux XIe et XIIe Siècles*, Vol 2, 248-73.

17 H.J. Thomson, 'A New Supplement to the Berne Scholia on Virgil', 261.

Gloss 123,12:

'nectare: melle'

Scholia Bernensia ad Geo.4.164:

'liquido nectare: melle'

and

Gloss 125,40:

'noram: noveram'

Scholia Bernensia ad Ecl.I.23:

'per syncopam noveram'

I would like to illustrate this point from another sphere. The name Venere is defined by two modern Italian dictionaries as follows. The first has 'antica divinità italica... considerata dea della bellezza, dell'amore, della fecondità', while the second reads 'l'antica dea romana della bellezza e della fecondità'.¹⁸ Certain words are common to both definitions: 'antica', 'dea', 'bellezza', and 'fecondità'. This circumstance does not cause us to suppose that the later dictionary plagiarized the earlier; on the contrary, we would probably imagine that most educated men in the Italian speech community would be capable of producing a similar definition, with some coincidence of vocabulary, from their own mental larder. Yet on the basis of coincidences no greater than these, scholars such as Thomson can be seen claiming a

18 The first definition is from the dictionary of Devoto-Oli, 1971; the second is from that of Tosi, 1969.

relationship, whether fraternal or paternal, between scholia. Never considered is the possibility that there might have been dozens (to speak conservatively) of relatively educated men in the ninth century or before who would be capable of producing, from their own heads, definitions of Latin words and mythological names without needing to have recourse to a glossary or to some florilegium of ancient authorities.

4. It is everywhere assumed by the modern scholars with whom we are taking issue that each commentary, however poorly constructed, may be regarded as a single, discrete and integrated work of literature whose several parts share a common history. In other words, just as the text of Virgil itself may be studied, from the point of view of its publishing history and subsequent tradition, as a single literary unit, so too can the Scholia Bernensia or the 'D' material in Servius be treated each as a whole. Professor Zetzel sounds a timely warning against this tendency.¹⁹ It can lead to an assumption, a comfortable and tidy assumption, that to explain the origin of half a dozen passages is to explain the whole thing. It fails to recognize that we are dealing in the scholia with a literary genre quite distinct from that of the classical authors. With the exception, possibly, of the case of Servius, it is not clear that medieval scribes and scholars were at all interested in transmitting unchanged the texts of scholia which came

19 J.E.G. Zetzel, 'On the History of Latin Scholia II, 19.

their way, nor did they hesitate to add to them, nor did they count it plagiarism to extract from them for their own compositions. In short there is no evidence that scholia were revered as literary texts were, and indeed we have the evidence of our eyes that the reverse was true. The task of looking for pure archetypes and autograph originals is a hopeless one, for it is based upon a misapprehension as to the very nature of the material being examined. Goold reveals himself as subject to this mode of thought, for he is quite unable to see that there could possibly be more than one 'compiler' between 'D' and the original Donatus from which he thinks it derived.²⁰ What he cannot see, apparently, is the range of possibilities for contamination to which the 'text' (a term which I use with caution) may be subject during its subsequent transmission. It is at least theoretically possible to say that at each stage in the transmission a new composition may be born, incorporating many or indeed most of the elements of the its predecessor, of course, but adding material of its own, whether from its compiler's own mental resources, or from his modest library. I am not prepared to deny that an early medieval scribe collated Servius with Donatus, but I do not believe that we can have any certainty as to whether his original work was any better or any worse than its remote descendent, Servius Danielinus, nor do I believe that we can hope to do more than touch the hem of Donatus's garment in what

20 Goold, 107.

remains to us of that original compilation.²¹

This brings me to the end of my analysis of the methodology of those who followed Rand, led on by a kind of circular thinking which they themselves developed by assuming that the distinguishing mark of the medieval mind was foolishness, and that the surest proof of an antique pedigree was an intelligent comment or the dropping of a venerable name from the classic past. This whole elaborate house of cards collapses, and is found to be largely without substance, if it can be shown that some of the minds behind the medieval commentaries were capable of at least a degree of original thinking, and were not afraid to express ideas of their own, and belonged to a culture in which, as in any other culture, men shared a common vocabulary, modes of expression, and patterns of thought.

This methodology can therefore only stand if certain assumptions are made:

1. That the situation was entirely static, and that scribes (of whatever rank and status) generally set out to copy only the exact words that were set before

²¹ I stress that it is not my intention to deny that traces of Donatus survive, but rather to argue against an excessive and disproportionate emphasis on their importance. W.M. Lindsay and H.J. Thomson, *Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries*, present a valuable discussion (56 ff) and list (60) a number of glosses which are ascribed by name to Donatus and which also appear more or less verbatim, but omitting Donatus's name, in the Servian tradition. Against that, Timpanaro, *Per La Storia della Filologia Virgiliana Antica*, 155, warns us against the tendency to 'sopravvalutare' Donatus.

them, except that they might curtail a passage (whether deliberately or accidentally), or they might combine passages from different sources. Only rarely does one find a medieval scribe praised by a modern scholar for his editorial work. These are men, presumably, who can do no right, and their only possible virtue is the passive, slavish and unthinking transcription of whatever they find in their exemplar.

2. That behind all the confusion thus created by the scribes and passed on in the manuscripts, there lie certain discrete commentaries on Virgil of ancient or late antique origin, and that these are at least partially recoverable by the normal processes of textual analysis.

3. That the medieval scribes and scholars contributed nothing wise or profound to the 'corpus', and that their own contributions are readily distinguishable by their inaccuracy, their stupidity or their naivety.

4. That the medieval scribes and scholars existed in a virtual cultural vacuum, that there was no currency of shared ideas and common understandings, that all available learning of value was transmitted in writing from antiquity, that they had difficulty distinguishing the valuable from the valueless (though prevailing opinion has it that they inclined towards the latter, almost invariably), and that they were incapable of assimilating information. This means that if you were to

ask such a man to define in Latin basic terms of mythology, for instance, his mind would be so innocent of the capacity for independent thought that the best he could do would be to point you in the direction of the library.

5. That if a teacher finds it necessary to explain to a student that 'a' means the same as 'eheu' or that 'haud' is equivalent to 'non', this is a sure indication that his own Latin is almost equally rudimentary. In fact the scholia do contain a great deal of basic linguistic instruction, evidently aimed at relative beginners, but this is not evidence for the supposed simple-mindedness of the teachers who used the texts. Indeed the argument is reversible, for the existence of teaching aids of this sort may be taken as evidence that Virgil (and particularly, I think I would suggest, the Eclogues of Virgil) was regarded as a fundamental threshold to Latin studies.²²

In my opinion there exists sufficient evidence to induce us to reject each one of these premises, and the whole question of the intellectual initiative of the early middle ages ought to be carefully re-examined by classicists and medievalists alike.

²² For examples of the simplistic type of gloss see *Explanatio II ad Ecl.* I.12 ('en id est ecce') and 15 ('a id est eheu'), but note also the more intelligent exegetical comments in the same context: like all teachers the author had to deal with students of varying ability. As to the suggested prevalence of the *Eclogues*, an examination of the manuscript listings in Munk Olsen will, I think, confirm the impression.

From a cautious reading of Munk Olsen's list of manuscripts containing portions of Virgil and commentaries on Virgil, and confining one's attention solely to those manuscripts positively identified as written in the ninth century, it is possible to draw some encouraging conclusions about the state of Virgilian studies at the time, without even having to introduce the allegory of the iceberg to justify the shortage of surviving evidence! About 40 manuscripts (some of them fragmentary, of course) have come to us from that century containing some or all of Virgil, or of the Appendix Virgiliana. All but half a dozen of these, incidentally, contain marginal or interlinear glosses of one tradition or another. Of these 40 manuscripts about 33 appear to have been definitely written in France, and the centres of origin most commonly named by modern specialists are Tours, Laon, Reims or simply the north and north-east. The remaining six manuscripts were written in Germany.²³

23 For the reader's immediate inspection I supply a necessarily much abbreviated list of manuscripts drawn from Munk Olsen (II.698-796) which he reports as having been written in France in the ninth century. The supposed centre of origin is supplied in brackets (sometimes 'France' is the most precise estimate anyone is prepared to hazard at). The list is: Bern 165 (Tours); Bern 167 (Bretagne); Bern 172 (Fleury); Bern 255 + 239 (N.E. France); Bern 455 (Laon); Brussels 5325-5327 (N. France); Einsiedeln 365 (France); Graz 1814 (France?); Hamburg 52 (Paris/St Germain); Leiden 141 (St Amand-en-Pevele); Melk fragm. (France); Montpellier 253 (N.E. France); Munich 29216 (France); Oxford F.2.6. (St Germain?); Paris 7925 (Limoges); Paris 7926 (France); Paris 7928 (Reims?); Paris 8093-V (N. France); Paris 8093-VI (France); Paris 10307-II (E. France); Paris 13043 (Corbie?); Paris 13044 (Corbie?); Paris n.a.1525-III (France); Fiesole (France); Trier 1086 (Tours); Valenciennes 178+220 (N.E. France); Valenciennes 407 (N.E. France); Vatican Reg. 1669 (Reims); Vat. Reg. 2078-I (Reims); Vat. 1570 (Flavigny); Wolfenbuettel 66 (France or Germany: Arras, Lorsch?); Wolfenbuettel 70 (Lyon); Wolfenbuettel 404.8.4 ('Zwischen Ost und West' - Bischoff).

Now in addition to this group of manuscripts of the whole or portions of the text of the poet (or of the Appendix), there is another very large group containing commentary material only, the majority, naturally, belonging to the Servian tradition. Again, confining our attention exclusively to the ninth century, we find 26 manuscripts in this category of French (predominantly north French) origin, only two from Germany, and 10 from other centres (chiefly Switzerland and north Italy, though one may even be Irish).²⁴

It is also possible to conclude that a good deal of contemporary scholarly attention (as opposed to merely scribal attention) was paid to the maintenance of this Virgilian tradition. We possess, for example, the notes and corrections of Lupus of Ferrières on a manuscript of Ti. Cl. Donatus,²⁵ and the hand of Martin of Laon in a manuscript containing portions of Servius and other

24 Munk Olsen, II, 797-826. The French manuscripts are: Bayreuth fragm. (N.E. France); Chartres 13-I (Chartres); Florence Plut. 45.14 (France); Florence Santa Croce 22 (France); Laon 468 (France); Leiden 135-III (N.E. France); Leiden Voss 79 (France); Leiden Voss 80 (W. France); London Harley 2782 (N.E. France); London Harley 3072-IV (France); Metz 292 (N. France); Montpellier 358-I (Lyon region); Paris 7761-II (Corbie); Paris 7959 (W. France); Paris 7960 (Auxerre?); Paris 7962 (Paris region); Paris 8208-I (Corbie); Paris 11308 (Reims); Paris n.a. 1907-I (N.E. France); Paris n.a. 2442-XXVII (Corbie?); Trier 1086 (Tours); Valenciennes 394 (N.E. France); Vatican Reg. 1484 (Tours); Vat. Reg. 1625-V (Fleury?); Vat. Reg. 1674 (Corbie); Vat. lat. 1511 (France). The Irish possibility is Valenciennes 412. It must be borne in mind that this and the preceding list are very cursory; the interested reader is referred to the pages of Munk Olsen. There he will be impressed by the number of manuscripts of ninth (and early tenth) century origin whose provenance is not stated. Some of these may well be French also. Moreover modern political divisions may obscure the fact that manuscripts described as 'German' or 'Swiss', and written at St Gall or Reichenau, for example, may well be seen as part of a cultural tradition whose centre of gravity lay in central-northern France.

25 Vatican MS Reg. 1484.

anonymous scholia;²⁶ we may also note suggestions of a close connexion between the 'Virgil of Tours', Bern MS 165, and Alcuin himself, or one of his pupils.²⁷ Other manuscripts apparently bear the autographs and corrections of heads of houses or heads of scriptoria.²⁸ Of particular interest in the present context, however, is the activity of Remigius of Auxerre in producing commentaries and scholia not only on Christian writers, but on both Juvenal and Persius as well.²⁹

There are sufficient grounds here to suggest that within a relatively small compass centring on northern France, and throughout the ninth century, there was a community of intelligent men who promoted the tradition of Virgil and the explanatory scholia as a matter of policy, and who were actively involved in the implementation of this policy.³⁰ Intelligent, but not necessarily well-informed; of course they did not have the tools of scholarship that are available to us, books were infinitely scarcer then, and what passed for scientific

26 Laon MS 468.

27 Munk Olsen, II, 704, gives a useful bibliography of this manuscript. See my description of it in the last chapter.

28 I base this assertion on the numerous instances in the manuscripts of the scholia and of Virgil (and other classical authors) of what editors and palaeographers would call 'contemporary corrections', emendations of a kind well known to anyone who has worked with manuscripts.

29 Much of this work remains to be edited, but see C. Lutz, *Remigii Autisiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, 2 vols, Leiden 1962-5, and M. Manitius, *Rhein. Mus.* 60, 1905, 211-18.

30 It may be doubted whether 'policy' is too strong a word to use here. In support of it I would begin by offering the evidence of Charlemagne's *Epistola de litteris colendis* (ed. Boretius, *MGH Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum*, I, 78-9) with its emphasis on the study of arts as a prerequisite to a study of the scriptures. But the strongest evidence, though inferential, is the diffusion of the 'carolingian minuscule' script, the significance of which surely cannot be measured in isolation from the material which it was used to disseminate.

knowledge may often strike us as laughable, but I believe that a proper application of Occam's razor will confirm that they certainly made use of what resources were available, and will excise the view of a past generation of classicists that their lives were given solely to copying, and to blundering.³¹ In a very important recent study Holtz goes so far as to say that the appearance of such a number of Virgil manuscripts in this region, and at this time, represents 'plus qu'une révolution' in secular studies, but even 'un vrai début'.³²

The time has come to draw all these threads together. Donatus is still with us, but his importance will be greatly reduced as our knowledge of the practice of scholarship in the early middle ages improves. Savage and others make much of a marginal comment in Bern MS 363 whose writer appears to say (though the note is very laconic and much abbreviated) that there was in Liège at the time a copy of Donatus 'who wrote on the whole of Virgil'.³³ I do not place much store by this, though if it were true it would not much alter the situation: the mere existence of a book does not mean that it was used, and there exists not a scrap of firm evidence that it was put to any use. Even less convincing is the suggestion that Aelius Donatus's great commentary was

31 A recent editor spoke of the 'mindless mendacities' of the carolingian scholars. By contrast, it is touching to read Dionisotti's remarks about 'those few brave souls who, not content with the stream, set out for the source, and against all odds refused to be confined in a Greekless world' (310).

32 Holtz 1985, p. 29.

33 J.J. Savage, 'Was the Commentary on Virgil by Aelius Donatus extant in the Ninth Century?', 405-11.

lost by a historical accident, as a result of being confused with the prolix work of the other Donatus. We may be confident that both authors were familiar enough during the period we have been discussing and before, and that no confusion was likely to arise, for Aelius Donatus was well known for his grammatical works and his *Life of Virgil*, Tiberius Donatus for his dreary analysis of the Aeneid. Manuscript evidence suggests that the Eclogues were the most widely read of Virgil's poems, and a commentary by the great grammarian and biographer of Virgil would have been treasured. Goold has suggested that the 'compiler' of Servius auctus deliberately suppressed the name of Donatus.³⁴ This is very improbable. A medieval writer was far more likely to add a distinguished name than to leave it out; one generalization we can safely make about the scholars of the era is that they were in awe of the great names of the past, and were more likely to exaggerate the breadth of their own reading than to hide their light under a bushel.

We may now continue our hunt for the compiler of the Scholia Bernensia, a hunt which must unavoidably take us, led on by the evidence of orthography and the presence of the glosses in Old Irish, to the extraordinary world of the Irish both at home and in their 'colonies' on the continent.

34 Goold, 110.

5. THE IRISH CONNEXION

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the question of classical studies in early medieval Ireland has evoked from the academic community an unusually emotional range of responses.

Until relatively modern times there was general, if relatively localized, acceptance of a view that classical culture had been sheltered in Ireland from the worst effects of the barbarian incursions which followed the fall of Rome, and that Ireland had enjoyed a kind of golden age of post-classical civilization at a time when the rest of Europe was in turmoil. It was therefore from Ireland, so the opinion went, that scholars came to the continent to seed the Carolingian Renaissance. The locus classicus for this view is probably an article by G.T. Stokes,¹ in which the author takes the matter of a continuity of Latin culture as read, and proceeds to argue for a strong tradition of Greek learning as well. Meyer expresses a similar view.² Even as late as 1951, Walker, the editor of St Columbanus in the Patres Latini Hiberniae series, maintains that Greek could have been learned in Ireland as a 'living vernacular'.³ Stanford summarized this whole position very thoroughly in 1970.⁴

1 'The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland [500-900]', 1891.

2 'Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century', 1912.

3 G.S.M. Walker, 'On the Use of the Greek words in the Writings of St Columbanus', 117-31.

4 W. Stanford, 'Towards a History of Classical Influences in Ireland', 13-91.

The reaction to all this was extreme, being headed in the first instance by numerous articles by Esposito,⁵ and reaching a climax in a savage, biting and often witty article by Coccia, 'La Cultura irlandese precarolingia - miracolo o mito?'.⁶

During the intervening years and subsequently, the voice of moderation was represented by Bieler and Bischoff,⁷ but the memory (or myth) of a 'golden age' had been thoroughly tarnished, if not actually obliterated.⁸

The road back, if it is to be found at all, will pick its way through a painstaking examination of the surviving evidence, but the problem here, of course, is that the Viking invasions destroyed so much - all scholars are agreed on that - that virtually no identifiable Irish secular manuscripts survive.⁹ A further

5 'On the New Edition of the Opera Sancti Columbani', 1960, being the most recent, and 'The Latin Writers of Medieval Ireland', 1907, the earliest. The time-span is extraordinary. Several other articles appeared in the intervening years, a selection of which are listed in the Bibliography. I understand that all his articles have now been collected by M. Lapidge in two variorum volumes, though I have not yet seen them.

6 *Studi Medievali* 8, 1967.

7 For example, Bieler's 'The Classics in Celtic Ireland', 1971, and 'The Island of Scholars', 1952; and Bischoff's 'Il Monachesimo irlandese nei suoi rapporti col continente', 1957. The latter summarizes his position thus: 'La produzione irlandese nel campo esegetico e grammaticale dei due secoli settimo e ottavo supera in quantità tutto ciò che fu scritto in tale campo in Spagna, Inghilterra, Italia...Dobbiamo, a mio parere, supporre che il patrimonio scientifico dell'epoca carolina fosse impregnato di numerosissimi elementi irlandesi, anche quando ciò non appaia esteriormente' (p.204). Both see no real grounds for identifying a general humanistic attitude among Irish scholars of the era. Certainly they see no evidence of competence in Greek.

8 There is a fairly complete bibliographical record of this whole controversy in my own 'Glosse irlandesi'.

9 T. O'Neill, in *The Irish Hand - Scribes and their Manuscripts from the Earliest Times to the Seventeenth Century with an Exemplar of Irish Scripts*, 1984, now claims an Irish provenance for the St Gall MS 904, an edition of Priscian.

complication is that we now know that Irish communities on the continent wrote manuscripts, sacred and secular, and used their own language to gloss them extensively.¹⁰ They also, of course, employed their own distinctively Irish system of abbreviations.¹¹ Sceptics are thus in a strong position to argue that any competent secular studies undertaken by Irishmen were undertaken on the continent, and under the influence of continental tuition and learning; that, in effect, the Irish who came to the continent brought nothing with them but their luggage, and a fairly basic knowledge of biblical Latin. They control the ground: Esposito speaks disparagingly of the 'a priori' desire of his opponents to believe in Greek learning in Ireland.¹²

Apart from seeking further manuscript evidence of cultural activity in Ireland itself (and this may be impossible to achieve) the only other solution to the problem may be to re-examine the methodology by which the tradition of early medieval scholarship in Ireland has been impugned. Here, I think, there are good grounds for believing that progress can be made.

10 Both Bischoff and Contreni have contributed extensively to this; the Bibliography lists the most important articles.

11 Beeson's article 'Insular Symptoms in the Commentaries on Vergil', 1932, offers the best summary of these which deals specifically with Virgilian material. My own edition of *Expl. II* identifies 11 abbreviations of exclusively Irish origin.

12 'On the New Edition of the Opera Sancti Columbani', 184.

Slender internal evidence ascribes the ultimate authorship¹³ of the Scholia Bernensia and the related material to Adamnán, whom most scholars have identified with the ninth Abbot of Iona (ob. 704).¹⁴

The question of authorship and of the relationship between these works is nevertheless extremely complex, and there has been much controversy over the interpretation of such evidence as they contain. This may be summarized as follows:

1. The pair of Explanationes bears the title IN NOMINE DEI SUMMI IN BUCOLICA PAUCA ORDINANTUR FONA.

2. Explanatio I has the colophon EXPLANATIO IUNII FILARGIRII GRAMMATICI EXPLICIT, followed by a short prayer signed by a scribe who calls himself FATOSUS.

3. Explanatio II has the colophon EXPLICIT EXPLANATIO IUNII FILARGIRII GRAMMATICI IN BUCOLICA VALENTINIANO. BUCOLICON HABET VERSUS DCCCXX. FINIT.

13 This term must always be used with great caution, naturally. To our modern post-romantic ears the word should carry a suggestion of inspired originality; unlike the scholars of the Middle Ages, we are uncomfortable about collecting other men's flowers. Perhaps it is safest to speak of Adamnán (or others like him) as, at best, compilers.

14 Even Esposito accepts this, in 'Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Medieval Ireland', 1930, but he works with a broad brush: incredibly he asserts that Florence Laur. Plut. 45.14 shows 'no trace of insular influence'; and he employs the excessively emotive term 'pillage' to describe the activity of the glossator, an implication which suggests little appreciation of the processes by which commentaries were compiled.

4. In commenting on Ecl. III.90, both Explanatio II and the Scholia Bernensia have the note DE MEVIO VERO NIHIL REPERI.

5. On the same passage of Virgil, Explanatio I has the note DE MEVIO VERO NIHIL REPERI UT ADAMNANUS AIT.

6. The Scholia Bernensia, immediately after the glosses on the Eclogues, have the colophon HAEC OMNIA DE COMMENTARIIS ROMANORUM CONGREGAVI IDEST TITI GALLI ET GAUDENTII ET MAXIME IUNILII FLAGRII MEDIOLANENSIS. IUNILIUS FLAGRIUS VALENTINIANO MEDIOLANI.

7. As we have seen, throughout the Scholia Bernensia (but not the related works) numerous glosses are expressly ascribed to Iunilius, Gaudentius and Gallus, usually in the form Iunilius dicit, Gaudentius dicit, etc. For example there are 60 ascriptions to Iunilius in that part of the Scholia Bernensia which deals with the Eclogues.

On the basis of this evidence, all scholarship from the time of the editio princeps until about a century ago regarded Iunius Filargirius and Iunilius Flagrius as identical, 'normalized' the spelling of his name to Philargyrius (there is no manuscript authority whatever for this), and ascribed the whole collection uncritically to his authorship, while conceding to Adamnán and Fatosus a minor editorial function at the most.

A more critical approach to the problem was taken by Suringar (1834), Thilo (1860), and Thomas (1879) who argued (on the basis of 4. and 5. above) that Explanatio I was a later and less valuable version of Explanatio II, the words ut Adamnanus ait having been added by Fatosus to his expanded edition.¹⁵ Barwick denied that such inferences could be drawn, and put the collection to the most thorough analysis that had been attempted up to that time. He accepted the equation Iunilius = Filargirius, attempted to show that the glosses ascribed to Iunilius belonged to a tradition completely independent of that of Servius,¹⁶ and claimed, as we saw in the preceding chapter, that Filargirius had used Donatus's lost commentary on Virgil as well.¹⁷

Funaioli, the leading figure in the disentangling of the non-Servian scholia, also turned his attention very closely to what might be called the Irish question. He is persuaded that we possess in this collection remnants of an otherwise unknown pagan Milanese school of Virgilian criticism which was probably transmitted to Ireland from Bobbio before being disseminated in turn by Irish communities in France.¹⁸ He it was who first classified the collection into two redazioni, redazione 'a' being represented by the Explanationes and the Expositio

15 Thomas, *Essai sur Servius*, 275.

16 Barwick, 'De Iunio Filargirio', 60-78.

17 *Ibid.* 121-2.

18 *Esegesi Virgiliana*, p. 38. Lindsay felt compelled to accept Funaioli's view by 1936: see his 'Review of E.A. Lowe, *Codices Antiquiores* Part II', p. 337.

together, and redazione 'b' being the source of the Scholia Bernensia. Funaioli has much respect for the part played by Adamnán in all this, regarding him as an able scholar and identifying him without hesitation as the Abbot of Iona who wrote a Vita of St. Columba¹⁹ and a description of the Holy Land.²⁰

In recent years the question has occupied the attention of Hiberno-Latinists among whom a controversy has raged as to the extent (or indeed even the existence) of serious classical studies in early medieval Ireland. Coccia, as we have seen,²¹ despised the literary ability of Adamnán and dismissed the collection as of little real value, but it may be argued that, in conceding an Irish origin to it, he failed to follow up the implications of its having existed in Ireland at all. Both Lindsay²² and more recently Contreni,²³ on the other hand, have shown that the existence of Irish glosses does not necessarily argue for an insular provenance: Irish was certainly used in continental monasteries to supplement Latin as a language of instruction.²⁴ Herren believes that the A-Version of that strange Hiberno-Latin document, the Hisperica Famina, was copied at Fleury, but from an Irish exemplar, in the middle of the ninth century.²⁵

19 ed. Anderson and Anderson, 1961.

20 *de locis sanctis*, ed. Meehan, 1958.

21 'La Cultura irlandese precarolingia - miracolo o mito?', 388-90. His article is amusing, mischievous, irreverent, scholarly and undoubtedly important, yet I would presume to say it is methodologically unsound.

22 *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, 41.

23 'The Formation of Laon's Cathedral Library', 937 f.n.

24 For a study of some of the Old Irish glosses (no complete study exists), see W. Stokes, 1893 and 1894.

25 *Hisperica Famina*, 10. The manuscript in question is Vatican Reg. lat. 81. If it is true that Bern MS 172 was written at Fleury, then the two must be near

It may never be possible to reach absolute certainty as to the origin of this collection. While most scholars in the past have been willing to accept that it was compiled at Iona originally, modern critics have tended to be sceptical. Herren cautiously asserts that according to all the available evidence Irishmen who 'excelled in classical learning' did so on the continent, not in Ireland itself.²⁶

Those who would deny the possibility of a pre-carolingian Irish enlightenment have thus successfully occupied what we might term the empirical high ground, because they control all the evidence, which is almost exclusively continental in origin. It is therefore possible for them to employ an argument ex silentio which says, in effect, that the Irish contributed virtually nothing of value to the carolingian renaissance - apart from their own passionate desire for learning, a desire sharpened, it is claimed, by the lack of resources and materials in their homeland.

There is a strong scholarly tradition that is deeply contemptuous of all medieval learning, as we saw in the previous chapter. Sometimes the argument becomes both

contemporaries, though I would in that case be intrigued by the latter's lack of Irish scribal characteristics.

²⁶ *Hisperica Famina* 1, 68-9. A more recent article of his, *Sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten*, suggests that he would like to think otherwise and has not altogether given up hope!

arrogant and emotional. Lindsay, for example, says that a modern thesaurus is 'merely soiling its pages' by including 'worthless' medieval glosses.²⁷ In speaking in terms of the 'genuineness' and 'implicit value' of scholia, Savage reveals his own assumption that nothing of value can proceed from the post-classical era.²⁸ Spurious arguments are employed to dissuade us from accepting claims that the Irish were well read: Bullough denies that Adamnán ever read the Eclogues, simply on the grounds that he never quotes from them in his authenticated works.²⁹

All this - and there is a great deal more of it - represents a bedrock of prejudice, much of it inaccurate, upon which it is very difficult for the seeds of a revised attitude to take root.

But where is the solid evidence for this Irish scholarly activity? Of course it has to be admitted that there is not a great deal. Most of the Irish manuscripts, sacred and secular, which have survived from that far-off time have done so on the continent, carried there no doubt by the very scholars who crossed the channel in the ninth century. Whether the original material - if it actually existed - was destroyed by the

27 'Review of "Glossaria Latina" by the same author', 1927, p. 97.

28 'Notes on Some Unpublished Scholia in a Paris Manuscript of Virgil', 240.

29 'Columba, Adamnan and the Achievement of Iona', 125. But more recently, Picard is impressed by Adamnán's command of Latin, and cautiously identifies echoes of Virgil in his *Life of Columba* ('Une Préfiguration', 247 and 254). See also his 'Eloquentiae exuberantia'.

Vikings or merely succumbed to decay and desuetude in the centuries that followed their coming may never be clear.³⁰ As a consequence of the loss of this alleged evidence, modern scholarship has been on balance understandably sceptical about the level of scholarship attained by the Irish, at home, in the seventh and eighth centuries, preferring to believe that such learning as they did attain to was acquired only after they reached the continent.

If we are to pursue this path successfully, we must face the necessity of having to find our way without direct manuscript evidence.

We have a far from complete picture of the circumstances that gave rise to the 'Carolingian renaissance', but we do know that a surprisingly high proportion of the men who led it were born in Ireland, and that they appear to have used the Irish language to supplement Latin as a language of instruction in their schools in France, a circumstance which suggests the presence of a large number of Irishmen, learned and unlearned, on the continent at that time.³¹ We also know from the evidence of modern palaeography that not only the Scholia Bernensia and the Explanationes, but even the Servius tradition itself, have apparently come down to us through

30 The fate of Iona illustrates the severity of the Viking raids: Herbert (*Iona, Kells, and Derry*, 67) reports that it was attacked first in the 790s, then burned in 802, and burned again in 806 when 68 members of the community were killed.

31 For a discussion of one particular area where Irish influence was strong, see J.J. Contreni, 'The Irish "Colony" at Laon during the time of John Scottus', 59-67.

an Irish interlude, 'un momento irlandés', to use an attractive phrase of Díaz y Díaz.³² Even those who have been most active in the resurrection of Donatus have been agreed on this point, that the monk who abstracted Donatus and collated it with Servius to form the basis of our Servius auctus was an Irishman, though as Goold and others might be expected to say, with characteristic lack of sympathy, a stupid one.³³ Yet the work of scholars such as Ó Cuív and Picard in the last decade has been sufficient, I think, to turn the tide in favour of the view that Virgil (and no doubt other classical authors) was read and taught in early Ireland, and that those who went to the continent from Ireland in the ninth century could take their Virgil with them.³⁴

32 'La Tradición textual de Petronio', 106. Díaz y Díaz was in fact speaking here of the textual tradition of Petronius. A number of classical scholars have observed what might be described as an Irish connexion in their manuscript traditions, but reports of this kind have not yet been properly integrated by specialists on early medieval Ireland. Even Savage agrees that the archetype of Ti. Donatus came to France from Britain in Alcuin's time ('The Scholia in the Virgil of Tours, Bernensis 165', 140 fn). Chatelain, in his 1908 edition of Lucretius, thinks that the immediate archetype of both the codices Oblongus and Quadratus was written in 'Gaul or Ireland' during the seventh or eighth century, but perhaps his views are now too outdated to carry much weight: see Ferrari, 'Ad Papiam convenient ad Dungalum', for a comprehensive corrective stance; she argues that the Codex Oblongus was written in the Palace School of Charlemagne and subsequently corrected by the Irishman Dungal.

33 See Goold, 'Servius and the Helen Episode, 116, for evidence of this attitude. For a similarly sceptical view of the capabilities of Irish scholars, see once again Coccia, 'La cultura irlandese precarolingia - miracolo o mito?', esp. 390.

34 Picard's views have been noted above. B. Ó Cuív, 'Medieval Irish Scholars and Classical Latin Literature', 1981, in a most impressive and ingenious article on Codex Sangallensis 904, demonstrates that the writer of the Irish glosses was familiar with the *context* of Priscian's quotations from classical authors, including Virgil. The Latin glosses in the same manuscript remain to be examined. There is an interesting parallel in N. Wright, 'Bede and Vergil', 1981-2, where an apparently water-tight case is made for overturning the scepticism of Hunter Blair as to Bede's personal familiarity with Virgil.

After ten years of exposure to the question of the availability of Donatus's lost commentary on Virgil during the early middle ages, I am struck by two things: firstly, the universal sense among scholars that genuine fragments of Donatus are embedded among the surviving scholia; and secondly, by the lack of any real evidence at all that Donatus was knowingly used in compiling commentaries. It is clear that if the Donatus commentary reached Western Europe, it must have done so by what we might call a process of filtration; in other words, it must have come from elsewhere, in a form that could not be recognized.

I propose the following hypothesis. Tiberius Donatus's writings on the Aeneid were well known on the continent, as the manuscript tradition clearly shows. Aelius Donatus was known for his Grammar, and for his Life of Virgil. If glosses on the poems of Virgil bearing the name Donatus were to reach scriptoria in Gaul, it might be assumed that Tiberius Donatus was meant, yet it would be readily ascertainable that Tiberius Donatus was not their author. The name would therefore be suppressed, on the assumption that it was an ignorant error. If we accept that there is a substratum of Donatus among our scholia, then only a hypothesis such as this can explain the absolute silence that envelops his name, in an age when scribes were always eager to display their learning by naming their sources. I suggest that there now exists a conglomerate of sound scholarly evidence to construct a strong argument from

probability that it was from the British Isles, and Ireland in particular, that this material must have come.³⁵ This is a kind of reversal of the argumentum ex silentio: the very obscurity of the Donatus glosses in continental Europe is evidence that they came from elsewhere.

We may now take courage and turn the tables on Coccia and his company, by throwing down the gauntlet and challenging them to explain the 'miracle' of the Carolingian Renaissance! For too long we have been conditioned to believe that this alleged pre-carolingian enlightenment in Ireland was either a miracle (if it was anything at all), or a myth. But the real question is how, and why, and with what materials, did such a startling and dramatic revival of learning occur in France during the ninth century? This was the miracle. And both the tools, and the personnel, came predominantly, it is increasingly clear, from Ireland.³⁶ We can accept that Irishmen on the continent reached at times impressive heights of learning, for we possess the manuscript evidence to prove it, but we deny similar achieve-

35 See Murgia, 'Aldhelm and Donatus's Commentary on Vergil', 1987, for a similar view of *Servius Auctus*.

36 Holtz (*La Redécouverte*, 1985) lends powerful support to this view. Hillgarth, 1984, asserts that Isidore was known in Ireland from c. 615, some eighty years before he reached the continent, and that in s. 7 Spain was overwhelmingly at the forefront of scholarly activity: Ireland, he says, had direct contact with Spain and was the first to take advantage of this relationship. England and France followed much later. Ó Cróinín, 1982, agrees that Isidore was received into Ireland much earlier than has been previously thought (p. 423). Winterbottom, 1977, likewise says that Valerius of Bierzo reached Ireland directly from Spain.

ments to Irishmen at home in the seventh and eighth centuries, because there is no equivalent evidence. What we do not adequately explain is how and from whom those who reached the continent acquired their learning. We have emphatically denied the possibility of humane studies in Ireland, while glibly accepting that those Irishmen who went to France could acquire it there readily enough, and advance like Eriugena and others to positions of scholarly eminence - at least by the standards of the day.³⁷ Arguments from silence, and arguments from surviving manuscripts (these two arguments amount to the same thing, especially when one considers the Viking factor) are simply inadequate to the purpose for which they have been used.

In the light of all that has been said, I suggest quite categorically that it is an entirely invalid methodology to make judgements about the cultural activity of any medieval society on the basis of the non-existence of manuscript evidence, if that society's records are known to have suffered at the hands of an invader after the period in question.

If we reject, as methodologically unsound, the non-existence of manuscripts as being sufficient grounds alone on which to base judgements about a past society, then I think it must now be accepted that the weight of

37 But see Jeaneau's, 'Jean Scot Érigène et le grec', for a cogent - but to me unsatisfying - demonstration of the process by which Eriugena might have learned his Greek from native speakers after moving to live on the continent.

evidence supports a belief in the survival - to some extent - of classical humanism in Ireland prior to the ninth century. The wheel has turned, if not full circle.

In a sense it matters little whether we father our collection of Virgil scholia upon Adamnán of Iona, or some other Adamnán otherwise unknown. The really important issue is regional provenance, and there is now such an aggregation of circumstantial evidence, despite the absence of manuscript evidence, that it emerged from an insular Irish centre, that we must examine the question of authorship afresh, and with a fresh methodology.

What are the grounds for rejecting the claim that the 'Christian grammarian whose commentary lies behind the confused and rambling note of the Berne scholia' was Adamnán of Iona?³⁸ Meehan, editor of de locis sanctis, rejected it on the grounds of style, only to be contradicted by T.J. Brown:³⁹ why, it is argued, would one expect marginal glosses and lecture notes to resemble, stylistically, the Life of a Saint? Bullough, too, thought that Adamnán wrote poor Latin,⁴⁰ yet

38 Rose, 1941, 196.

39 'An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Latin Authors in the British Isles from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century', 293. The same author affirms: 'Until 669, then, Anglo-Saxon England was a cultural province of Ireland, and evidently a province in which Latin learning flourished much less vigorously than in Ireland itself'.

40 Part II, 23. He is also convinced that Adamnán had not read Virgil, apart from isolated excerpts in the grammarians. I think it is fair to say that he links good style with wide reading: the man writes poorly, *ergo* he has not read widely - at least not widely enough to have written a Virgil commentary.

contrast Winterbottom's praise: 'Adamnán's style is of the utmost elegance and clarity, without ostentation or affectation: that is, it is quite unlike Aldhelm's'.⁴¹ On this same question of style, the Virgil commentaries have come down to us through such a complex process of 'filtration' that I do not believe that a comparative study of the exegetical techniques of identifiable Hiberno-Latin biblical commentaries will strengthen (or weaken) the argument for an ultimate Irish provenance. Adamnán of Iona is one of only two or three men known to us to have borne that name, and there are no good grounds for denying him a central rôle in assembling the material with which his name has been so long linked.⁴²

What kind of man, then, was the author (in the restricted sense that we must use that term) of the Scholia Bernensia? What resources did he have at his disposal? Certainly he possessed the Eclogues and the Georgics of Virgil.⁴³ He must also have had, at the very least, two collectanea⁴⁴ of older Roman commentators whose names are now only known to us through his

41 'Aldhelm's Style', 54 fn. Many other scholars have expressed appreciation in similar terms. Perhaps Bullough was more concerned with classical rules than with lucidity.

42 The index to O'Brien's *Corpus Genealogiarum* lists just one other, and the index to the *Annals of Ulster* likewise names one, a bishop who died in 731. Neither has left literary remains of any kind. The name is a diminutive of Adam, also occurring in the variant spelling *Adomnán*. The most recent study of Adamnán, that contained in Herbert's, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*, neglects the present question yet makes the alluring assertion that 'his vision was not bounded by the limits of his monastic community' (p. 52).

43 I cannot feel much enthusiasm - in this situation - for Holtz's assertion ('La Redécouverte', 15) that commentaries were sometimes studied in isolation from the works to which they referred.

44 Taking him at his word: 'de commentariis Romanorum' (*Ecl.* X, colophon).

surviving commentary - I refer of course to Filargirius, Gaudentius, Gallus and Donatus, though I do not believe that he was in a position to recognize the authorship of any nuggets of Donatus which his collectanea may have contained: Donatus, I suspect, was among the 'alii' whom he alludes to so frequently! And he would almost certainly have had his Isidore. This is all that we can be reasonably confident of: a modest collection of virgiliana which does not overtax our credulity.

We are now probably as close to the end of the road as we shall ever come. Only a miracle - of a kind not foreseen by Coccia - will convince us beyond doubt that the compiler, or author, of the Scholia Bernensia was in truth Adamnán of Iona. Yet I think we can claim, with cautious moderation, something which is very nearly as attractive: that the trail ends not merely in an Irish monastic foundation in western Europe, but in the very homeland of the Irish people.

6. INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT AND SIGLA

It is my contention that a modern edition of the Scholia Bernensia calls for an approach somewhat different from that employed in the publication of regular literary texts. What is needed is something between a beguilingly clean and polished document, from which all bafflement and uncertainty has been removed, and a 'diplomatic' version which reports the state of the manuscript as it really is. Such an approach is not an evasion of editorial responsibility, but rather a recognition that the rules of the game are different in dealing with a document such as a Virgil commentary which was not accorded such reverence in transmission as the work of a standard author.

One cannot attempt to follow in the steps of Hagen without being filled with awe and respect for a scholar whose whole work is distinguished by punctilious accuracy and unimpeachable integrity. His edition was a courageous and thorough one, but it presupposed that behind the various manuscripts lay one, single 'literary' text which could be restored by the accepted procedures of textual criticism. I have tried to show that this approach is flawed. Perhaps the clearest indication of this deficiency is the fact that Hagen (and Citarelli subsequently) failed to distinguish those portions of the Scholia which appear in the left-hand column of B from those which appear in the right; in effect, this means

that the possibility that the Scholia Bernensia are not a unity at all, but a miscellany drawn from two (or more) traditions, is not adequately entertained.

Hagen's edition makes clear reading, but it is his own creation, not a re-creation of something that existed once before and was lost. The Scholia Bernensia of Hagen is therefore a synthetic work, a Virgil commentary that never existed at any time in late antiquity or the middle ages.¹

Citarelli's edition² follows Hagen's so closely that one may question the reasons for its coming into being at all, for like its great predecessor it presupposes the underlying existence of a simple and discrete original. Like Hagen, Citarelli has not seen the need to distinguish material from the left- and right-hand columns. Moreover, his edition contains numerous typographical errors, and other errors of a kind that will lead the reader to suspect that he had not himself inspected the manuscripts which he claims to be editing.

This edition, on the other hand, will not claim certainty where none is to be found by filling all lacunae with material drawn from other apparently related

1 Cf. H.J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil*, 1941: Hagen's text is a 'medley' of different readings printed together, p. 196. Dionisotti says something very similar of Goetz's collection of glossaries in *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*: '...their individual identities scarcely emerged, and soon they were all scrambled and fused together...This is wonderfully useful, but it never existed at any one time or place before 1899' (p. 305).

2 This edition (see Bibliography for details) was submitted as a dissertation to the University of Naples in 1967. It has never been published.

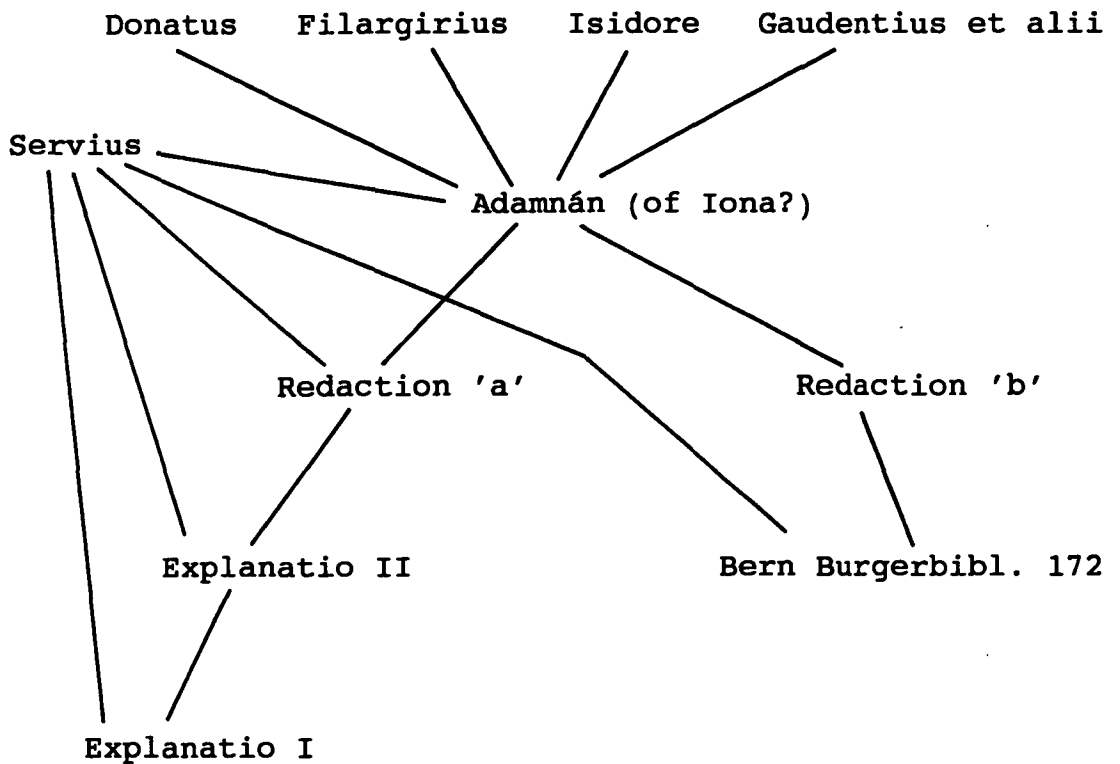
sources. But neither will it faithfully report every flaw and blemish in the manuscript, every peculiarity of spelling and dittography. Rather, it will strive to make the best and surest sense of the material to hand, while providing sufficient information about the actual form and layout of the manuscript to satisfy those who wish to pursue for themselves the detective work of sifting through the various strands which make up the whole.

It must be stressed that this is an edition of MS 172 only, and that it has been undertaken in order to provide an essential starting point for a future edition of the Scholia Bernensia, if such a thing is even attainable. I have to say again, with some regret and with the greatest respect to Funaioli, that I do not think it is, at least in the sense understood by an older generation of scholars, and that the mode of thinking that would lead one to pursue such a course should now be discredited.

There is another difficulty which must be faced, too, and that is the increasing illegibility of the manuscripts: a comparison of my own with Hagen's readings reveals the extent of the deterioration which they have suffered during the century past. MS 167, in particular, is appallingly hard to read and no useful photographs exist or can be taken: the Burgerbibliothek is no longer prepared to submit it to that treatment. Perhaps Hagen's was the last generation that had the opportunity, let alone the will, to collate and edit commentaries according to received editorial theory.

Throughout the text, whenever the name of Iunilius appears, I have reproduced in a footnote any corresponding passages from, firstly, Hagen's edition of Explanatio I and, secondly, my own edition of Explanatio II. By corresponding passages, I mean passages which deal with the same line of verse or lemma, even if the exegesis is largely or completely different. Where no such extracts from either Explanatio I or Explanatio II are printed, the reader may safely assume that they are silent on the point in question. Space has precluded me from offering passages from other scholia for comparison. Nevertheless the evidence of both the Explanations will reinforce the conclusion that what is specifically ascribed to the authority of Iunilius Flagrius in the Scholia Bernensia is frequently distorted, unrecognizable or indeed non-existent in either or both of the Explanations, despite the fact that they have been claimed to be the actual work of 'Filargirius'. I trust that sufficient evidence is provided by this simple demonstration alone to compel us to dismiss, once and for all, the superficial claim that the Explanations are, in any meaningful sense, what they literally purport to be - a commentary by 'Philargyrius'. A word of caution. I hope it would not be construed as immodest, or disdainful of Hagen's superb and meticulous scholarship, to point out the danger of placing too much trust in his text of Explanatio I: my reasons for saying this lie close to the heart of my thesis and have already been fully aired.

It is of course customary, in any edition of a literary work which has come down to us by means of a manuscript tradition, to provide a stemma to show the relationships between the various manuscripts involved in the process. I have tried to show that commentaries, however, belong in a significantly different category, so that a simple stemma (as that term has been generally understood) is not achievable or, if it were, would not greatly contribute to our appreciation of the issues. In dealing with commentaries our interest lies not so much with the manuscripts themselves, as with the uses to which they are put. The situation is so fluid, that what is required is not so much a stemma as a flow chart. I offer the following:



Notice that at every stage Servius is available to 'cross-contaminate' the tradition. 'Contaminate' is a word I would prefer not to use in this context, for it implies a hierarchy of values which may be misleading, but its use is probably necessary if understood to be in a strictly technical sense.

Editorial practice may be summarized as follows:

Those portions of the text which occur in the left hand column of B are printed flush with the left margin in this edition. Those portions which appear in the right hand column of the manuscript are indented.

Common spelling variants of the type cesar (for caesar) will usually be reported only at their first occurrence.³ At this point it may be observed that modern ideas of 'right' or 'wrong' spelling must be abandoned when we approach a medieval manuscript: for example alligorice/alligoricae (for allegorice) is virtually the only form in use and must be regarded as the 'norm'.⁴ Similarly, forms of origo and abundans are almost invariably spelled with an initial h. Neverthe-

3 This serves little more purpose than that of conveying the 'flavour' of the manuscript. In general I have decided not to clutter the apparatus with such common variants as *c/ch*, *s/ss*, *t/c*, *i/e*, *e/ae*, *t/th*, *oe/e*, *i/y*, and *o/u*, unless there is a possibility of some ambiguity as in a couplet such as *fere/ferae*. The above variations are extremely common in all manuscripts of the period, and offer no indication of origin. Again, compliments are due to Hagen who has noted such variants with his usual exactness.

4 Actually, the form *allegorice* occurs just three times, and one of these actually in the form *allegoricae* (*Ecl.* II. intro.). The other occurrences are at II.36 and III.61. It is thus so uncommon that one may suppose (perhaps impertinently) that it is best regarded as a scribal error!

less, in deference to modern sensibilities, the 'received' spelling of any word is generally preferred, if it occurs at all among the variants found in the manuscript. The same cautious approach is adopted with regard to the lemmas: while the Geymonat text of Virgil is adopted as standard for the purposes of this edition, variant readings have been noted where they appear to reflect the text used by the commentator himself.

u and v are not clearly distinguished in the codices. I have preferred to follow the convention of using v to represent the consonantal form and u the vocal.

* For ease of location, an asterisk is used to identify all words (or phrases) which are commented in the apparatus criticus. The second series of footnotes, however, is identified numerically.

< > Angled brackets enclose conjectural additions to the text.

[] Square brackets enclose conjectural deletions.

Words and phrases which cannot be restored by conjecture are 'obelized' thus.

(...) Words and passages which the present editor cannot read due to deterioration of the manuscript, and which he does not feel justified in restoring from

related texts in other manuscripts, are indicated by these symbols. Some of these may have been reported as legible in Hagen's day.

CAPITALIZATION is used to distinguish lemmas.

In the Apparatus Criticus, underlining is used to indicate an abbreviation in the manuscript: for example the common abbreviation for inter appears as 'int'. Further information is only given when there is an apparent departure from the standard usage of what are in fact common symbols: abbreviations in this codex are highly conventional and give no clue to its place of origin.⁵ This circumstance, combined with the absence of Irish glosses, no doubt points to the conclusion that this manuscript is at least one step further removed from its Irish origins than the codices containing the two Explanationes.

Editorial comments in the apparatus are italicized.

Line numbers refer to Geymonat's text of the Eclogues.

The following abbreviations are used in the apparatus:

5 Unlike the manuscript tradition of the two *Explanationes*: in the case of *Explanatio II*, for example, I identified in my own edition eleven abbreviations which are found only in Irish centres, whether on the continent or in Ireland itself. A further twenty are classified by Lindsay as being insular only. See Beeson for an authoritative yet interesting and accessible survey of these symptomatic devices.

- B Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 172
(*'Floriacensis'*), the object of this
edition.
- C Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 167
(sometimes known as *'Autissiodorensis'*).
- T Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 165 (*'Turonensis'*).
- V Leiden, Bibl. Publica Voss. MS 79
- H H. Hagen's edition.

THE GLOSSES ON THE ECLOGUES

IN BERN BURGERBIBLIOTHEK MS 172

ECLOGUE I

[Folio 6r.]

48 LIMOSO...IUNCO quia iuxta Mincium.

49 NON INSUETA GRAVES idest alienam terram minus
quam suam amant, ex hoc enim intellegitur
Virgilius non propriam possessionem recepisse.

49 INSUETA aliena*. TEMPTABUNT idest abortivos
faceret. FETAS pregnantas nec iam partu liberatas*,
idest anticipatio, quia 'fetae' post 'fetus' dicuntur.

50 NEC MALA VICINI idest quia alienae oves tuis
non miscentur, a quibus morbos transducere*
possint.

50 NEC MALA VICINI quia fiunt in bono. CONTAGIA
LAEDENT quia ex conversatione pecorum morbus* innascitur.

51 INTER FLUMINA idest Padum et Mincium.

52 ET FONTES SACROS pro deabus Nymphis.

52 ET FONTES SACROS idest habitacula Nympharum,
quia omnibus aquis praesident, ideo habitacula
earum* dicuntur. FRIGUS OPACUM idest nemorosum.

52 FRIGUS quia estivo tempore frigus fit sub umbra.
CAPTABIS eque capies. FRIGUS OPACUM utrum pro* opacis
locis an pro valde frigidum incertum sit.

49 aliena *H*: diana B.

49 partu liberatas *scripsit H*: partu liberas B.

50 transducere: tranducere B.

50 morbus *coni. H*: hominibus B.52 earum *coni. Mueller*: quorum B.

52 pro: per B.

53 HINC TIBI QUAE SEMPER idest aberunt a te
vicinorum saepes dum remotus habites que semper
adesse solent.

QU.....*

53 AB LIMITE limes agri terminus.

54 HIBLEIS Hibla mons in Sicilia vel locus in Attica
ubi mel optimum nascitur, Gaudentius dicit. Set tamen
Iunilius dicit civitatem Hispanie.¹

54 HIBLEIS APIBUS id est aptum est hoc loco
hibleis apibus salicti* florem depascere. Hibla
autem mons est in Sicilia ubi optimum mel fit
[rorem].

54 FLOREM DEPASTA rorem aptum depascere*. SALICTI
salictum a saliendo, id est crescendo, dictum.

55 SAEPE LEVI SOMNUM hoc est dum leviter susur-
rantes apes audieris ad* somnum inlicieris.

55 SAEPE saepis. SUADEBIT hic provocat rusticum ad
delicias* quas amat. SUSURRO animal* quod de apibus
nascitur vel nomen avis*.

QU....: quae aura secundum H, sed legere non potui ipse: quae eruere C.

54 salicti H: salicte B.

54 FLOREM DEPASTA rorem aptum depascere scripsit H: rorem florem aptum
depasta depascere B.

55 ad H: a B.

55 delicias: dilicas B.

55 animal B: murmur scripsit H.

55 vel nomen avis transposuit H in glossam sequentem.

1 Cf. Explanatio I: HYBLAEIS idest Hybla, quae postea
Megara, oppidum Siciliae, vel locus in Attica, ubi
optimum mel nascitur. Explanatio II: hyblaeis idest
mons in Sicilia ubi optimum mel nascitur.

56 FRONDATOR rusticus, vel animal quod de floribus nascitur*. tria tamen genera frondatorum sunt: frondator qui arbores amputat; et qui a frondibus manipulos* facit hiemis tempore ad pastum pecorum; et qui manibus vitis folia avellit quo ardor solis uvam* reddat maturiorem.

57 NEC TAMEN INTEREA cum haec ita agantur. RAUCAE sono vocis. TUA CURA quas diligis. PALUMBES vulgo* 'tetos'*² vocant. NEC TAMEN INTEREA id est inter haec, dum susurros apium et cantantem frondatorem audieris, non cessabunt palumbes tibi vel turtures gemere*. istae etenim aves proprie pro cantu gemitus habent; RAUCAE dicuntur quia raucum sonant. TUA CURA de quibus tibi cura est; quae te delectant.

58 NEC* GEMERE canere. proprie de turture gemere dicitur, ut Plautus³ ait.

59 LEVES veloces. ANTE LEVES ERGO ET CETERA* sensus: ante rerum mutabitur natura quam possimus Caesaris

56 FRONDATOR rusticus...nascitur B: Frondator, rusticus, vel nomen avis, vel animal quod frondibus vescitur *coni. H.*

56 manipulos *H:* manipulo B.

56 uvam *coni. H:* viam B.

57 vulgo *H:* vulgos B.

57 tetos *H:* vulgo stecos B.

57 gemere: genere B.

58 NEC *H:* ne B.

59 ET CETERA *H:* etę B.

2 Cf. Servius, and Scholia Persii ad Sat. I.20.

3 Most. I 1, 44: 'tu tibi istos habeas turtures'.

oblivisci, qui nobis bona haec contulit. dicit autem hoc Virgilius sub specie Tityri.

60 FRETA maria*. DESTITUENT relinquent*.

60 DESTITUENT* id est subductis aquis in sicco dimittent.⁴

61 ANTE PERERRATIS ET CETERA hic Persas et Germanos mutuis* a finibus suis exulare.

61 PERERRATIS errore* confusis. AMBORUM de Persis et Germanis dicit. EXUL pro exules, vel Caesar.

62 AUT ARARIM PARTHUS ET RELIQUA Tityrus, qui vult diversissima inter se loca significare, dicit prius Parthum ex Arare potaturum, Germanum ex Tigride, quam sibi oblivionem futuram non divisi agri, Caesaris beneficio, Iunilius Flagrius dicit.⁵

AUT ARARIM quia duce Caesare, Germanis et Persis victis, milites eius Ararim biberunt.

60 maria *H*: mari *B*.

60 relinquent *H*: relinquant *B*.

60 DESTITUENT *H*: destuent *B*.

61 mutuis *correxi*: mutuos *B* (*et H*).

61 errore *scripsi cum Mueller*: errorem *B*: per errorem *H*.

4 There is a capital *D* in both margins of the manuscript at this point. A hint of Donatus? Some would want to see it as such, but it is really so insubstantial that one may merely note its presence.

5 Cf. *Expl. I*: AUT ARARIM, quod duce Caesare Germanis et Persis victis milites Ararim, Germaniae flumen, biberunt. *Expl. II*: Ararim idest flumen Germaniae vel Galliae vel Germania idest germanus.

62 ARAR flumen Germaniae, tamen alii dicunt flumen Galliae in Rodanum iens. PARTHUS colonus Parthiae. GERMANIA pro habitatore. TIGRIM Tigris* flumen Armeniae et Parthiae in Persicum Sinum fluens.

63 ILLIUS Iulii Caesaris. LABATUR separetur*; oblivioni tradatur. PECTORE nostra cogitatione.

64 AT NOS HINC ALII ET CETERA vult hic diversa inter se loca significare, id est nos qui patria pellimur, alii ad Africam, alii ad Scithiam, alii ad Brittaniam ibimus.

64 SITIENTES AFROS quia Africa sicca est. AFROS in Africam in qua aqua rara, ideo et ferarum generosa est. IBIMUS exilio. AFROS sinecdocheae. AFROS pro Lybia* dicit, quae aquae indigens* est.

65 CRETAE OAXEN Cretam albam terram dixit, tamen* Oaxes fluvijs Mesopotamiae, non Cretae. RAPIDUM CRETAE dixit quia raptim currit et, ex velocitate rapiens terram albam, turbulentus efficitur, et ideo 'Cretae' dixit.

65 RAPIDUM lutosum. OAXEN Philistenes* ait Apollinis et Antalae* filium. hunc Oaxen* in Creta oppidum

62 TIGRIM Tigris: tygrim tygris B.

63 separetur H: separatur B: cf. Servius - labatur - respuatur vel oblivioni tradatur.

64 Lybia H: libiae B.

64 indigens Mueller: indegina B: indiga H.

65 tamen conieci: tam B: nam H.

65 Philistenes B: Philostephanus scrips. H.

65 Antalae antiquus quidam corr.: antelae manus I: Anchialae H.

65 Oaxen H: oazen B.

condidisse et Oaxen suo nomine nominavit. aliter, Oaxen* fluvi-
us Scythiae creteum colorem habens et in Creta* non
est, sed cretei* coloris est aqua.

66 DIVISOS quia olim Britannia orbi terrarum fuit
iuncta, vel quia inter se et orbem maria multa
conveniunt.

67 EN UMQUAM aliquando.⁶ POST adverbium temporis,
significat 'diu'.

67 EN UMQUAM ET RELIQUA id est erit aliquando
tempus cum fines patrios et pauperis tuguri
congestum super cespite culmen post aliquantos
annos rursum videbo, quae utique MEA REGNA voco;
dilecta mihi rura in quibus natus sum.

68 TUGURI* pro 'ii'. tugurium aedificium a tegendo
dictum, id est casa pastoralis. CESPITE cespes terra cum
propria* erba revulsa, vel cespes fundamentum domunculae.

68 CULMEN ideo dicitur quia culmo tegitur, id
est stipula.

69 MEA REGNA ubi dominatus sum. POST ALIQUOT*
ARISTAS post aliquot annos: more rustico per
segetes annos computat, quia rustici per aristas

65 Oaxen *H*: oxen *B*.

65 Creta *H*: cretae *B*.

65 cretei *H*: cretenei *B*.

68 TUGURI *H*: tugurii *B*.

68 propria *H*: propia *B*.

69 ALIQUOT *scripsi*: aliquod *B*, ut saepe, et *H*.

6 Cf. Servius: en: ecce. unquam: aliquando.

annos adnumerant; eorum enim phisica in paleis et
messibus est.

69 POST ALIQUOT ARISTAS pro annis aestates. hic tropus
'metalemsis'* ab eo quod praecedit quod sequitur
ostendens, quia per aristas grana, per grana anni
significati sunt.

70 IMPIUS MILES Augustus qui contra Antonium arma
portavit. MILES hic Octavianum Virgilius laesit*, sed
hic veritatem secutus est.

70 IMPIUS quia bella civilia* desiderat. IMPIUS
epitheton est militis eo quod vincendo pietatem
pretermittit.

70 tum* MILES* portando arma et vincendo alios
nocendoque dicitur. hoc Meliboeus* iratus dicit quod
milites dividentes, vel quod bella civilia facientes
essent.

70 NOVALIA sunt nova rura quae per singulos
annos novantur semine.

71 EN QUO ecce tibi. EN QUIS ecce quibus.

71 HAS SEGETES quae mihi sunt in Mantua.

[Folio 6v.]

69 messibus est *H*: messi.....(*aliquot litterae obscurae*).

69 metalemsis *B*: metalepsis *H*. Cf. *ad VIII. 21*.

70 laesit *H*: laesis *B*.

70 civilia *H*: vicilia *B*.

70 est *H*: *obsc. in B*.

70 pretermittit *H*: pretermitt...(3 *litterae obscurae*).

70 tum *scripsi* (*secundum Servium*): dum *B*: *om. H*.

70 MILES: impius miles *scripsit H*.

70 Meliboeus: moeliboeus *B*.

72 PRODUXIT porro; produxit* in alienos* agros agris propriis.

73 <INSERE>* semet ipsum imperat. PIROS arboris genus. PONE in alienis agris.

73 INSERE se ipsum ortatur, sive hoc dolentis dicit affectu, quia nihil profuit illi hoc fecisse quando excludebatur a propria possessione.

74 FELIX quamdiu et ego felix fui! FELIX in finibus vestris; hic videt pastor non habere quod Tityrus habet.

74 QUONDAM aliquando. FELIX quando habitastis in finibus vestris.

75 NON EGO id est post haec non vos pascentes videbo, sed in antro cubabo.

75 POSTHAC post hoc. VIRIDI pro parva herba in vere*.

76 DUMOSA spinosa. PENDERE quia capra cum pascitur in spinosa pendet.

76 PROCUL prope et longe significat.*

77 CARMINA NULLA CANAM quia tristis est sua possessione carens, et non licet tristem canere sua carenti.

78 CYTISUM* herba est lacti habundantiam suggerens.

72 porro produxit: pro porro duxit *H*.

72 alienos *H*: alieno *B*.

73 <INSERE> *add. H*.

75 vere *scripsi*: se *B*: virente *H*.

76 PROCUL...significat: *H nescio quo modo omittit*.

78 CYTISUM: cithisum *B*, *ut alibi*.

78 CYTISUM genus fruticis, vel herba in Cithisa
civitate, quaeque inter campos et silvas nascitur.
AMARAS hominibus non capris. AMARAS hominibus dixit,
ceterum pecori dulces sunt.

80 MITIA matura.

80 MITIA POMA alligorice* pro suavitate carminum
dixit.

81 CASTANEA mala.

81 PRESSI emulcti, vel casei.

82 ET IAM SUMMA PROCUL noctem per hoc supervenisse
dicit.

82 CULMINA FUMANT cena pastorum ad vesperum.

83 MAIORESQUE CADUNT* duplicantur, augentur*.

83 MAIORESQUE CADUNT id est vergente ad occasum
sole, umbrae montium crescunt. UMBRAE nox*
imminet.

80 alligorice *scripsi*: alligoricae B.

83 CADUNT: sunt B.

83 augentur *H*: augeantur B.

83 nox: non B.

ECLOGUE II

Haec egloga in honorem Assinii Pollionis scripta est.
 haec egloga sic habetur quasi in Sicilia, ut 'mille meae
 sicutis errant in montibus agnae'.¹ haec egloga in agro
 canitur, ut 'nunc* etiam pecudes* umbras et frigora
 captant'.² in hac egloga poeta solus loquitur, hoc est
 'adsidue veniebat ibi haec incondita* solus'³
 recitabat*, id est amoris pueri. sub 'Alexis',⁴ nomina
 in hac egloga tria intellegenda sunt: primo, vetus
 pastor historialiter quem Theocritus scripsit in amorem
 pueri arsisse; secundo, Virgilius allegorice*⁵ in puerum
 Asinii Pollionis, ut Asinio placuisset qui Transpadanam

nunc *H*: nun *B*.

pecudes: pecludes *B*.

incondita: incendita *B*.

recitabat *conieci*: reitantum *B*; *H* 'iactabat' secundum Virgilium scripsit.

1 Verse 21.

2 Verse 8.

3 Verse 4.

4 Sub with the nominative ought not to concern us, for it is a commonplace in works of this nature to leave a word undeclined (or inappropriately declined) after a preposition when attention is directed to the form of the word as it appears in the text. It is thus not necessary to accept Hagen's insertion of nomine. Cf. pro in antro (V.6), and pro senes, pro ambos (VI.18).

5 This is the first of only three occurrences of a 'correct' spelling (in fact allegoricae here!) of a word which normally appears as alligorice. The others are ad Ecl. II. 36 and III. 61.

provinciam regebat; tertio, Virgilius Octavianum superbum et alligorice adolari, ut ab eo honoratus fuisset.

Alexander fuit servus Asinii Pollionis. hunc Virgilius, rogatus ad prandium, cum vidisset in ministerio nimium pulcherrimum, dilexit, eumque dono* accepit*. nam Virgilius dicitur tres pueros habuisse in tali amore. Caesarem quidam, ut dixi, formosum operibus et gloria accipiunt; alii puerum Caesaris quem, si laudasset, gratam rem Caesari fecisset. tribus modis in hac egloga amor persuadetur: primo divitiis, ut 'mille meae' et reliqua⁶; secundo forma, ut 'non ego daphnim*' et reliqua⁷; tertio voce, ut 'imitabere Pana canendo' et reliqua⁸. haec egloga proprie bucolicon carmen.

1 PASTOR CORYDON ALEXIM pastor introducitur amans puerum. per Corydonem hic Virgilius, per Alexim Alexander puer intellegitur, quem ei Asinius Pollio donaverat.

dono: dona B.

accepit: accipit B, *ut saepissime in verbis ex -cipio compositis*.

Daphnim: dafnim B, *ut saepe*.

6 Verse 21.

7 Verse 26.

8 Verse 31.

1 CORYDON de nomine avis, quae corydalis dicitur, nominavit: corydalis avis dulce canens. ARDEBAT impatienter diligebat, laudabat, ardenter amabat. ALEXIN puerum sine responso ac superbum. hunc autem dilexit, quo* et Pollio pro formae decore delectabatur, qui eo tempore transpadanum* partem Italiae tenebat, et agris praeerat dividendis.

2 DELICIAS* DOMINI filium Caesaris, vel DELICIAS DOMINI puer dilectus 'deliciae' dicitur Asinii, vel pastor de se dicit.

2 DELICIAS DOMINI id est domini Pollionis quem ille prius* dilexerat. puer enim dilectus ei eius 'deliciae' dicuntur. alligorice putatur Virgilius de se hoc et Caesare dicere. NEC QUID nec spem potiundi* habebat, quia puer eum exosus est.

3 TANTUM tantummodo. nec enim eum diligebat quod non credendum. UMBROSA CACUMINA caret coniunctione.

4 INCONDITA verba insanientis incomposita*, subito dicta, agrestia, insanientia.

5 IACTABAT incassum fundebat. INANI inope*.

5 INANI nihil sibi procurans contra absentem loquebatur.

1 responso B: responsu *corr.* H.

1 quo *corr.* H: que B.

1 transpadanum H: transpadam B. Cf. *ad Ecl.* VI.7, transpadane.

2 DELICIAS: dilicias B *ut saepe*.

2 prius: pius B.

2 potiundi: potiandi B.

4 incomposita H: inamposita B.

5 inope *scripsi*: inopto B: inepto H.

6 O CRUDELIS quia mortem sibi praestabat Caesar. O CRUDELIS inexorabilis qui non flecteris meis scriptis et non das ereptos agros.

6 NIHIL MEA CARMINA CURAS sive ad puerum sive ad Caesarem dicit.

7 MORI ME secundum contemptum.

8 NUNC ETIAM PECUDES ET CETERA vocat per has* delicias puerum, vel omnia in requie esse dicit praeter se, quem amor requiescere non sinebat.

8 UMBRAS ET FRIGORA aprica loca aestate <vitantes>*, quasi dixisset 'veni ad me'. provocat puerum per has delicias.

9 VIRIDIS* quia in viridibus fiunt.

9 LACERTOS genus serpentis.

10 THESTYLIS* nomen est rusticanae mulieris quae messoribus aestu fatigatis, diversa genera herbarum contondens⁹, pulmentarium <parat>*.

8 has *H*: as *B*.

8 <vitantes>: *coni. H*: cf. *Servius* - frigora idest <non> aprica loca. aestu aestiva.

9 VIRIDIS: virides *B*.

10 THESTYLIS: thestilis *B ut saepe*.

10 <parat>: *evanuit in B; suppl. Mueller ex C*.

9 This kind of spelling has been considered an indicator or 'symptom' of Irish origin, though more recent opinion is sceptical. See Löfstedt, *Malsachanus*, p.72, for the older view; for the contrary opinion, that such a spelling variant is no sure evidence of a particular regional origin, see M. Herren, 'Sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten', *passim*.

10 THESTYLIS concubina Corydonis quae cum testis ministrabat. RAPIDO ferventi. FESSIS ardore solis vehementer fatigatis.

11 <ALIA>* olus. SERPULLUM* herba vel cepae.

11 ALIA SERPULLUMQUE ET RELIQUA quasi diceret 'non debueras haec tam bona pulmentaria deserere vel respuere. OLENTIS in bonis odoribus.

[Folio 7r.]

12 AT verum.

13 SOLE SUB ARDENTI potest et de amore* accipi.

13 CICADIS cicadae vermes quae* cuculum fugant cantando in lignis, similiter istas* cervi expellunt.

14 TRISTES IRAS quia tristem me faciunt.

14 alii Amaryllidos graece, Amaryllidis latine*. AMARYLLIDOS* IRAS romuleas iras significabit.

14 NONNE FUIT SATIUS id est melius mihi fuerat Amaryllidis amicae meae iras perferre et superbe me fastidientem.

15 FASTIDIA contemptus. MENALCAN* pastoris nomen.

15 NONNE MENALCAN id est melius mihi fuerat Menalcan puerum amare. hoc quidam Virgilium de Antonio putant dicere.

11 ALIA *scripsi*.

11 SERPULLUM: serpillum B.

13 amore *H*: comore B.

13 quae *H*: que B: qui *emend. Mueller*.

13 istas *H*: istos B.

14 latine: latinae B.

14 AMARYLLIDOS: amaryllidis B.

15 MENALCAN: menalcam B.

16 QUAMVIS ILLE NIGER quia Antonius Aegyptios et Aethiopes* in bello habuit.

16 NIGER sive de Menalca dicit, sive de Antonio. CANDIDUS sive Alexim sive Caesarem accipi*.

16 QUAMVIS TU CANDIDUS quia Caesar cum Romanis et Gallis ad bellum veniebat.

17 O FORMONSE PUER si ad puerum, dicit: 'non te eleves de formae* pulchritudine; si ad Caesarem: 'non te elevet successus rerum, quia saepe mutantur prospera'.

17 NIMIUM non debet te praesens successus inmitem facere; aequae enim rerum laeta mutatur.

18 LIGUSTRA flores papaverum. VACCINIA violae purpureae.

18 LIGUSTRA flores sunt candidi qui de arboribus decidunt. VACCINIA NIGRA violae purpureae quae #de omnium# nigrescunt. NIGRA quia usui sunt. LEGUNTUR pro eleguntur*.

19 DESPECTUS* contemptus, quia dispicis et spernis ingenium meum.

20 PECORIS NIVEI albae oves; alii sic distinguunt PECORIS NIVEI quia antiqui lanam albam admodum diligebant.

16 Aethiopes: &hyopes B.

16 accipi B: accipe H.

17 formae H: fome B.

18 quae #de omnium#...ad finem glossae: NIGRA quia quando maturescunt nigrescunt. LEGUNTUR pro eleguntur, quia usui sunt coni. H.

19 DESPECTUS: dispectus B.

20 PECORIS NIVEI alligorice metri vel carminum.
 HABUNDANS¹⁰ ostendit habundantiam ingenii sui;
 plurimi enim incitantur ad amorem voce, forma,
 divitiis.

21 MILLE innumerabiles. AGNAE quia spes gregis magis
 in illis est.

21 MILLE MEAE SICULIS quia in bucolicis
 Theocritum* poetam siculum imitatus est. AGNAE
 versibus* bucolicorum.

22 LAC MIHI NON DEFIT numquam carmina desunt.
 22 NON AESTATE NOVUM quia id omni tempore haberet et
 per hoc pastor puerum provocat.

24 AMPHION id est* Iovis et Antiopae filius. AMPHION
 Thebanus musae* studiosus omnibus notus, qui et Dircaeus*
 <dicitur>* de fonte Dirce* qui est Thebis in Boeotia*,
 cuius cantu lyrae Thebanorum muri surrexisse dicuntur.
 et cithara sic cecinisse dicitur, ut montes et saxa
 advocaret. vult autem hoc dicere: 'sicut ille lapides
 movebat cantu, sic te moveam* carmine meo'.

21 Theocritum: teocritum B *ut saepe*.

21 versibus B: versus H.

24 id est H: i B.

24 musae H: musa B.

24 Dircaeus: dercaeus B.

24 dicitur *addidi*.

24 Dirce: dercae B.

24 Boeotia: bo&ia B, *ut saepe*.

24 moveam H: noveam B.

10 HABUNDANS. The spelling within the central
 Virgilian text here is actually abundans, but the form
 with h is invariably used in all the glosses.

24 DIRCAEUS a Dirce fonte appellatus. IN ACTAEO
in Thessalia* provincia. IN ACTAEO ARACYNTHO* in
Attico Aracyntho. sed Aracynthus mons est
Boeotiae vel Arcadiae, unde mirum cur eum
'Actaeum' dixerit, sed melius 'Actaeum' nemorosum
accipimus.

25 NEC SUM ADEO INFORMIS ingenium meum cognovi. NUPER
ME ne diceretur ei: 'in quo speculo te vidisti, cum sis
rusticus?' IN LITORE VIDI sunt enim in litoribus fontes
aquae dulces.

25 IN LITORE id est in margine aquae.

26 <CUM>* quando. PLACIDUM VENTIS STARET MARE
hic totum pro parte*, id est mare pro aqua posuit.
alligorice CUM*¹¹ PLACIDUM quando tranquillitas
rerum fuit et omnium rerum status esset quietus.
MARE pro aqua, totum pro parte.¹² NON EGO

24 Thessalia: thesali B, *ut saepe*.

24 ARACYNTHO: aracintho B, *ut saepe*.

26 CUM *add. H*.

26 parte *H*: parate B.

26 CUM *scripsi*: dum B.

11 It may be surmised that the primary commentator's text of Virgil read dum rather than cum. However in this manuscript the Virgil text (in the central column) reads cum. Clearly the scribe is not cross-checking with his Virgilian text.

12 This note (echoing as it does the one just three lines above) is surely as clear an indication as any that a compiler has extrapolated from two or more commentaries without necessarily trying to integrate them. Ironically it is also likely, of course, that the two separate notes on MARE which he has passed on to us may well have had a common origin.

DAPHNIM id est non metuo ut tuo iudicio mihi
 Daphnis, quamvis pulcher sit, praeferatur.
 alligorice hoc dicit: 'non timeo Pollionem,
 quamvis melius carmen texere possit'.

26 NON EGO DAPHNIM pulchritudinem eius. Daphnis rex
 pastorum pulcherrimus. NON EGO DAPHNIM nobilem poetam
 cuius ingenium non timeo, te iudicante. Daphnis filius
 Apollinis et Psamathis*.

27 FALLAT te.

27 IMAGO imaginem philosophi dicunt binam esse,
 voluntariam et imaginariam; voluntaria per temet
 ipsum, imaginaria per alium.

28 TANTUM magnum. LIBEAT delectet. SORDIDA RURA quae
 sordida existimas.

28 SORDIDA RURA rusticum carmen.

29 HUMILES sub terra. HUMILES quas humiles reris.
 CASAS quae mapalia dicuntur.

29 FIGERE CERVOS venari, id est sagitare cervos,
 vel palos figere qui ramosi sunt et adsimulant
 cornua cervi, unde et cervi dicuntur. alligorice
 dicit se cum Caesare velle venationi insistere,
 aut in bello hostes* persequi.

30 VIRIDI ne vim patiantur pecora. CONPELLERE ad*

26 Psamathis *scripsi*: spamathis B: Psamathes H: *cf. ad IV.56 et VI.67.*

29 hostes H: ostes B.

30 ad H: a B.

pastum minare.¹³ HIBISCO hibiscum genus est virgulti,
quo pastores pro flagello utuntur.

31 IMITABERE futurum* vel imperativum*. IMITABERE
imitaberis. MECUM IMITABERE PANA sicut ille de amore
canit, sic et ego. PANA accusativus* graecus*.

31 IMITABERE PANA dicitur enim Pan Syringam
nympham* amasse, quam dum persequeretur in calamum
versam esse, et exinde Pan fistulam fecisse unde
graece* fistula syrinx* dicitur.

32 CERA quia perforati c<alami cera
coniungun>tur*.

33 CURAT sanat de morbis.

33 MAGISTROS ar<ietes>*.

34 NEC TE PAENITEAT non te pudeat, o puer, sic
cantare*. TRIVISSE tero, trivi. TRIVISSE LABELLUM dum
haec Pan, deus pastorum, fecit, non te pudeat, o puer vel
Caesar, ut audias carmina.

34 NEC TE PAENITE....carmen....*

31 futurum vel imperativum: fut vel imp B.

31 accusativus graecus: accs grecus B.

31 nympham: nipham B.

31 unde graece *H: haec verba partim obsc.*

31 syrinx *H: syringi* B.

32 c<alami cera coniungun>tur: bene suppl. *H de litt. evanidis.*

33 ar<ietes> suppl. *Funaioli.*

34 cantare *H: cantar&* B.

34 NEC TE PAENITE et sequ.: magna pars marginis imi dexteri abscissa est; 80 fere litterae desiderantur.

13 This non-deponent form is to be retained. It appears in the form mino (= ago) in Explanatio I, ad I.13. See Thes. Ling. Lat. VIII, col 1031.

35 HAEC EADEM id est ut haec carmina discere possit
Amyntas* omnia facere paratus erat. AMYNTAS nomen pueri.
AMYNTAS pastor nobilis qui voluit carmen rusticum
scribere; insulsum tamen scripsit et auctoritate pulsum
est.

35 AMYNTAS allig....conatum esse....* indorum
sa....et sem....

36 DISPARIBUS inequalibus. CONPACTA excitata. SEPTEM
CICUTIS alligorice* significat septem pastorales odas
quibus pastores praemia merentur, quia tres in carmine
pastorali non reputantur: 'Sicelides'¹⁴ et 'Prima
Syracusio'¹⁵ et 'Extremum'¹⁶. SEPTEM CICUTIS id est
septem culmis vel calamis. allegorice in septem calamis
septem eclogae¹⁷ bucolicae intelleguntur, nam tres aliae,
id est 'Sicelides' et 'Prima Syracusio' et 'Extremum'.

37 DAMOETAS nomen pastoris periti canere*.

35 Amyntas: amintas B, *ut saepe*.

35 AMYNTAS allig....conatum esse...: *Funaioli mss. T, V auxilio sic sanavit*:

Amyntas alligorice Cornificium dicit poetam inimicum suum conatum esse carmen
rusticum contra Vergilium scribere....indorum sa....

36 alligorice: aligorice B.

37 canere *H*: caner& B.

14 Ecl. IV.

15 Ecl. VI.

16 Ecl. X.

17 This rare departure from the regular spelling egloga
(the only other examples are ad Ecl. VI, where it occurs
twice - in both columns in the first line of the Intro-
duction) probably indicates that the commentator is
relying on a different source at this point. Note also
the unusual spelling allegorice in the line above.

[Folio 7v.]

36 SEPTEM CICUTIS id est septem culmis vel calamis. alligorice in septem calamis septem egloge bucolice intelleguntur. nam tres aliae, id est 'Sicelides' et 'Prima Syracusio'* et 'Extremum hunc'* ad singulos viros specialiter factae* sunt.

37 DAMOETAS alligorice Theocritum vult Virgilius intellegi qui sibi facultatem canendi bucolica tradidit, quia post Theocritum proximus Virgilius scripsit bucolica, cuique aemuli invident.

38 SECUNDUM quia post Theocritum Virgilius bucolicum texuit.

39 STULTUS quia invidit. AMYNTAS praenomen pastoris.

39 AMYNTAS alligorice Cornificium dicit qui contra Virgilium conatus est scribere.

38 TE NUNC HABET id est Virgilium. SECUNDUM dominum.

40 NEC TUTA in securitate. NEC TUTA VALLE id est non segura, quia cum difficultate eos de capreolis adquisierit, quos puero pro amore daret. REPERTI reperti sunt.

41 CAPREOLI caprae silvaticae. SPARSIS maculosis eleganter; ista enim pueri adpetere solent. ALBO varii.

40-1 DUO CAPREOLI alligorice in duobus capreolis duos libros Georgicorum vel, ut alii, Georgica et Aeneidos, quae cum difficultate condidit, vult

36 'Prima Syracusio' H: primas syracosio B.

36 hunc H: nunc B.

36 factae H: facta B.

intellegi, quos se dicit* Augusto servare*, non,
ut alii, Cassium* et Brutum.

42 SICCANT mulgent vel sugunt*. OVIS caprae.

43 THESTYLIS amica mea vel vicina mea; rusticana
mulier. ABDUCERE auferre. ORAT rogat.

43 THESTYLIS alligorice Cleopatra uxor Antonii;
et hoc accipitur quasi rogaret Virgilium ut ei
cantaret. THESTYLIS desiderosam et voluptariam*
significat.

44 ET FACIET me ut faciam. SORDENT sordida
existimantur.

45 HUC ADES ades imperativus est; dilicias rusticorum
laudat puero*.

44 SORDENT TIBI adnue precibus meis, o Caesar;
tibi enim omnis suavitas et omnis flos operis mei
destinatur*.

45 HUC ADES alligorice per diversa genera olerum
ad varia metrorum carmina Caesarem invitat.

46 CALATHIS calathus genus est canistri. TIBI NAIS*
tibi fert Nais, dea pastoralis, vel una de Nymphis cuius
diminutivum est Naidis.

40-1 quos se dicit *H*: quos edicit *B*.

40-1 servire *scripsi*: servare *B*.

40-1 Cassium: *casiu* *B*.

42 mulgent vel sugunt *H*: mulgant vel suggent *B*.

43 voluptariam *coni. Mueller*: voluntariam *B*.

45 dilicias...puero: *hanc lectionem accipit. H., sed dilicias pro dilicias posuit.*

44 destinatur: *distinatur B*.

46 NAIS: *naus B*.

47 PALLENTES micantes. VIOLAS vaccinia. SUMMA*
PAPAVERA herba quae in summo granum habet. CARPENS
colligens.

His omnibus Caesarem invitat et gloriam eius
multiplicat.

48 NARCISSUM narcissus* flos est qui credebatur de
puero transformatus. Narcissus fuit filius Apollinis*
qui dicitur puer conversus in florem a Nymphis, eas
contempnens. OLENTIS grave vel boni odoris.

49 CASIA ablativus.

50 MOLLIA tactu plumae. LUTEOLA rubicunda, in qua
formae* omnium pigmentorum pinguntur, vel genus herbae
propriae. PINGIT componit.

50 MOLLIA VACCINIA LUTEOLA CALTA PINGIT* id est
dum flores isti inter se iunguntur, picturam
imitantur. CALTA herba quae prope stabulis
pecorum nascitur. LUTEOLA CALTA lutei coloris.

51 IPSE EGO omni te carmine rustico* persequar.
LANUGINE vel de lanugine* barbae suae dicit, ac*
si diceret: 'cum sim iuvenis, cur me refugis?' -
hoc est 'Octaviane'* vel 'puer'.

47 SUMMA: suma B.

48 narcissus: nacissus B.

48 Apollinis: appollinis B, ut saepe.

50 in qua formae H: in quo fome B.

50 MOLLIA...PINGIT: *Commentator videtur hunc ordinem consulto adoptavisse, ut significationem clarius explicaret.*

51 carmine rustico *Mueller*: carmina rusticu B.

51 lanugine: lanuginee B.

51 ac H: hac B.

51 Octaviane: octavianae B.

51 CANA alba. TENERA cum tenera. CANA MALA candida poma, vel genus hirsutum tenera lanugine, id est lanuginem habentia.

52 CASTANEASQUE NUCES 'nucēs' dicuntur omnia poma quae duram corticem habent; ideo* cum adiectione 'castaneasque nucs' dixit, quae autem mollem, cerea mala.¹⁸

52 AMARYLLIS amica, aut Roma. AMARYLLIS civitas pro Octaviano dicitur.

53 CEREa matura. HONOS ERIT diversitas colorum picturam imitatur.

54 ET VOS <O> LAURI nam gratas* habetis bacas. CARPAM tollam. PROXIMA loco vel dignitate.

55 POSITAE posuerunt. POSITAE quoniam passiva participia frequenter agunt<ur a poetis. MISCETIS sive Nymphae sive> virgulta <praedicta>*.

56 RUSTICUS ES CORYDON ad semet ipsum loquitur poeta vel pastor. NEC MUNERA nec carmina quae ad honorem ei dixit Alexis puer vel Caesar.

55 RUSTICUS....orem se esse qui erat....don Virgili....Alexis Caesar....eius ingenio....lus id est....nc Pollionem....n id est....non omnia tibi....proficiens....ventus....untur.*

52 ideo: idea B.

54 nam gratas *emend.* H: ingratas B.

55 <ur...sive> et <praedicta>: et H et Citarelli affirmant se posse hoc legere, ego non.

55 RUSTICUS....untur: *desunt 10 vel 11 lineae. Hagen, C et al. auxilio, sic restauravit:* RUSTICUS ioco utitur et significat Pollionem divitiorem se esse quia erat dominus. RUSTICUS pastor, poeta ad semet ipsum. CORYDON Virgilius. MUNERA carmina. NEC CURAT non amat. ALEXIS Caesar. significat nihil proficere sibi quia non movetur Caesar eius ingenio. MUNERIBUS sive praedictis sive poemate. IOLLAS dominus eius, id est Pollio, tamen per Augustum. IOLLAS

57 IOLLAS alius pastor, amator puerorum, vel
 Pollio qui et ipse poeta erat. MUNERIBUS
 poematibus*. CONCEDAT* id est non concedit Pollio
 ut carior illo sim.

58 QUID VOLUI FLORIBUS AUSTRUM et est sensus:
 omnia quae tibi praeparavi conturbata sunt et sic
 dissipata, quemadmodum Auster* flores dissipat.
 hoc vel ad puerum vel ad Caesarem dicit, dolens
 sua munera despici*.

59 PERDITUS demens. INMISI quia, volutantes se,
 aquas fontium conturbant. FONTIBUS APROS id est
 quemadmodum apri fontes conturbant, sic a te
 conturbata sunt et conculcata omnia mea.

[Folio 8r.]

60 QUEM FUGIS revocat illum ad rusticum carmen. A
 DEMENS hoc in se, non in Alexin. HABITARUNT id est non
 sit tibi vile, ut illud facias quod meliores fecerunt.

60 HABITARUNT DI QUOQUE SILVAS si ad Caesarem
 dicit, hoc vult intellegi quia et di carminibus
 delectati* sunt.

deus Mantuanorum; nunc Pollionem nunc Cornificium significat, id est II poetas.
 EHEU QUID o, interiectio dolentis. AUSTRUM ventum id est Notum, floribus
 contrarium prae calore. hic sensus est: omnia tibi praeparavi, tamen conturbata et
 combusta sunt. PERDITUS nihil proficiens. FLORIBUS AUSTRUM sicuti floribus
 collectis et depositis ventus contrarius spargit eos, sic mea carmina ab Alexi
 contempnuntur.

57 poematibus: poatib; B.

57 CONCEDAT: conced& B.

58 Auster: auter B.

58 despici: dispici B.

60 delectati: dilectati B.

18 Cf. Servius: 'bene speciem addidit, dicens
 castaneas. nam nuces generaliter dicuntur omnia tecta

61 DARDANIUSQUE PARIS Parim Priami* filium pastorem
fuisse*, priusquam a patre agnosceretur, certum est;
quem Dardanium vocat quia in ea regione pastor fuit.
PALLAS QUAS CONDIDIT ARCES fortasse Athenarum historiam
attigit. PALLAS id est Minerva, quam Iuppiter* de capite
genuit, ut pagani,¹⁹ ut Iuno Vulcanum sine viro peperit
arte magica. Minerva* enim prima condidit urbes.

61 DARDANIUSQUE PARIS id est Alexander, filius
Priami, pastor fuit in Dardania. PALLAS id est
Minerva habitat in urbibus quas condidit; nobis
habitatio silvarum placet. alligorice silvae
carmen.

63 TORVA LEAENA saeva, irata, truculenta*, aspera.
LEAENA* fit auctoritate, quamvis veteres dicebant 'hic'
et 'haec' leo.

63 TORVA LEAENA ET RELIQUA id est omnia se
invicem sequuntur, amore vel odio conpellente;
nos te, puer vel Caesar. SEQUITUR CAPELLAM ad
conprehendendam.

64 CYTISUM herbam sequitur capella ad pastum.

61 Priami *H*: pariami B.
61 fuisse *coni. Mueller*: suis B.
61 Iuppiter: iupiter B, *ut saepe*.
61 Minerva: onnerva B.
63 truculenta *H*: trunculenta B.
63 LEAENA *H*: lena B.

corio duriore...sicut contra poma dicuntur omnia
molliora'.

19 The use of this word is one of the clues available
to us that the compiler, or author, of this commentary
was a Christian.

65 CORYDON de ave dictus, non, ut alii, nomen
conpositum ex* 'coro' et 'dono'.

65 TE CORYDON O ALEXI quomodo ferae* cupiditatem
patiuntur, sic ego Caesarem. TRAHIT quia omnia ad
voluntatem suam invicem persecuntur. VOLUPTA<S>*
causa cibi capiendi*.

66 ARATRA 'aratrum' dicitur, sed propter versi mensura
'aratra'. ASPICE ARATRA ad semet ipsum loquitur.

66 REFERUNT post laborem ad domum portant et ad
requiem festinant.

67 ET SOL DECEDENS ad occasum properat et ad
refrigerium.

68 AMOR nec requiem habet nec refrigerium.

67 DUPLICAT UMBRAS iam tempus preces meas
finire; dies enim defecit veniente nocte, nec ego
finem amoris inveni.

67 DUPLICAT noctem facit.

68 ME TAMEN* URIT AMOR requiem non inveniendo. QUIS
MODUS nullus pietatis modus est. QUIS MODUS id est
nullus est finis amandi.

69 A CORYDON CORYDON figura utitur et reprehendit se
quod carmina scribat per quae nullum sibi nutriat
merito*. QUO DEMENTIA tam demens sum rogando Caesarem.

65 ex *H*: e| *B*.

65 ferae: fere *B*.

65 VOLUPTAS *H*: volupta *B*.

65 causa cibi capiendi *coniec*: causa ubi capiendi *B*: cura se invicem capiendi *H*.

68 TAMEN: &am *B*.

69 merito *scripsi*: meritum *B*: mereat nutritum *H*.

69 A CORYDON a interiectio dolentis vel
mirantis. sub Corydone poeta se intellegi voluit,
dementemque se dicit ingratum officium exhibentem.

70 SEMIPUTATA ex parte amputata; queritur tarditatem
donandi.

70 SEMIPUTATA id est tua dereliquisti propter
laudem, vel amorem pueri vel Caesaris. vel quia
Numa, cum ad omnem usum* vellet provocare Romanos,
edicto monuerat dementiam facile contrahere eos
qui de inculta vinea vinum bibissent; dicit se
dementem quasi de tali vinea libarit*.

71 QUIN TU id est incipe aliquid operari quod necesse
est. QUORUM ciborum.

71 SALTEM* videlicet. QUORUM INDIGET ut
placatum habeas Caesarem. INDIGET USUS ad neces-
sitatem victus.

72 VIMINIBUS virgulis mollibus. VIMINIBUS caseum
praebere, detexere.

72 PARAS DETEXERE vult se intellegi Aeneidos
scripturum pertinentes ad stirpem Caesaris.

73 INVENIES ALIUM id est Alexim, sive invenies alium
cui carmine placeas si Caesari non places.

73 INVENIES ALIUM si non Caesari carmina
placuerint, alii placent; vel aliud adgredimur in

70 omnem usum B; ad vini cultum H.

70 libarit *conieci*: liber& B: biberet H.

71 SALTEM: saltim B.

quo placebit²⁰ Augusto, id est Aeneidos*, non, ut alii, eglogas* sequentes.

73 Aeneidos: eneidos B.

73 eglogas *scripsi*: eclogas *H*: egloga B: eclogae *Mueller*.

20 I have resisted the temptation to follow Hagen in altering this word to read placebimus. Given the context, it is not easy to imagine how an original placebimus could have been so altered: we must permit the compiler of the scholia his occasional poor constructions or infelicities of expression. This kind of question is central to the task of editing the Scholia Bernensia, for we must determine whether to give priority to the idea that they are an original master commentary inaccurately transmitted, or a set of working notes subject to constant alteration. If we accept my fundamental position as to the nature of these commentaries, then there is a measure of truth in both these views. The editor, however, must balance them.

ECLOGUE III

Haec egloga in honorem Asinii* Pollionis scripta est.
 haec egloga sic habetur quasi in Hispania vel in Gallia,
 ut 'malo me Galatea petit'¹. haec egloga in agro, ut
 'dicite quandoquidem molli consedimus herba'². haec pari
 numero epigrammatum* gaudet, et pars eius ultima
 distichon*, continet enim duos versus.

Menalcas* pastor melior Damoeta, hoc est Cornificius
 poeta consularis, fascinat Damoetae, id est Virgilio,
 agrum suum, quasi sui umquam non esset, ut moris apud eos
 omnes non habere agrum nisi a Palaemone, id est Caesare,
 accepissent*.

Menalcas Cornificius, Damoetas Virgilius, Palaemon
 Caesar.

in hac egloga tres introducuntur personae, id est
 personae duorum pastorum certantium de variis
 rebus coram iudice*. et alligorice personae
 poetarum et militum coram Caesare et iudicibus
 eius certantium, sed maxime poetarum.

Asinii: asynii B.
 epigrammatum: epigramatum B.
 distichon: disticon B.
 Menalcas H: menalca B.
 accepissent: accipissent B.
 iudice: iudice B.

1 Verse 64.

2 Verse 55.

Alligorice Menalcas, id est Cornificius, loquitur, poeta Antonii, quasi ex Cremona* vel Mantua, qui contra milites Octaviani contendit. Damoetas, id est Virgilius, qui a Roma contra Antonii milites pugnat. Palaemonem Caesarem vel Meliboeum vel Gallum accipimus, qui postea* iudex factus est. in hac egloga Virgilius nunc personam Menalcae accipit, nunc Damoetae. haec egloga proprie bucolicon dicitur. in hac egloga saepe personae mutantur, ideo obscura est.

1 DIC MIHI DAMOETA hic fascinat Menalcas Damoetae pecus. DIC MIHI contumeliosa interrogatio provocantis ad pugnam. Damoetas mercennarius Menalcae, vel custos gregis Aegonis. CUIUM pro 'cuius': antiqua locutio veterum, qui 'cuium' neutro, 'cuius' masculino, 'cuia' feminino dixerunt; nos 'cuius' tribus generibus dicimus.

1 PECUS ager quem tu non habes. MELIBOEI Antonii alligorice.

2 AEGON custos gregis vel amicae*³ nomen.

Cremona: cremone B.

postea B: poetarum H.

2 amicae: amice B: amici H: cf. *Explanatio I - TRADIDIT AEGON idest amici nomen arripit.*

3 Again, to which text do we owe reverence? I would retain amicae as a poor quality 'strand' of commentary, despite the appearance of amico in the following gloss, and the evidence of Expl. I.

2 TRADIDIT ne videatur mercennarius, quasi ab amico accipit. Lyctius* AEGON id est Cretensis. AEGON alligorice Pollio vel Caesar.

3 O interiectio dolentis. OVIS PECUS omnia animalia excepto homine 'pecus' appellantur; hic ergo, ut ostenderet de quo loquitur*, addidit 'ovis'.

3 PECUS alligorice agrum vel cives Mantuanos spoliatos significat. NEAERAM nomen proprium amicae suae, id est amicae communis*. NEAERAM alligorice Mantuam vel Caesarem, vel novitatem vult intellegi, id est agrum recipiendi.

4 FOVET amplectitur*. NE ME ne me Caesar praeponat sibi, ne me magis amet quam illum. SIBI id est Damoetae vel Neaerae.

5 ALIENUS Damoetas. BIS MULGET* IN HORA sive historialiter sive in mulctram*.

5 ALIENUS CUSTOS Caesar vel milites quibus distributa fuit terra.

BIS MULGET alligorice servitutis gravitas intellegitur.

6 SUCUS pinguitudo, vires.

2 Lyctius *H*: licuus B.

3 loquitur: loqueretur *H*.

3 communis: comunis B.

4 amplectitur: amplectitor B.

5 MULGET: mulgit B.

5 BIS MULGET....mulctram B: *H sic amplificat* - BIS MULGET IN HORA, sive historialiter in mulctram, sive 'bis mulget' allegorice servitutis gravitas intellegitur.

6 SUBDUCITUR furto* tollitur. LAC AGNIS qui*
spoliantur agris.

7 PARCIUS loquere non iniuriose, sed parcius. VIRIS
viris fortibus praeda.

7 TAMEN quamvis d....deranda*
8 NOVIMUS non ignorat populus, quia scimus te ea
passum quae viris inhonesta sunt; haec ad Cornificium.

8 ET QUI TE d....versa....
dorsa ut....
stup....
pura...
risere....
.....*

9 FACILES propitiae*, quae non animadverterunt.
FACILES propitiae ad veniam dandam, vel ad culpam
consentientes.

[Folio 8v.]

10 TUM quando. CUM ME cum ego vel mecum.

10 MICONIS Caesaris.

11 MALA FALCE hic probatur Virgilius quod sit ei
studiorum instrumentum.

6 furto *H*: furtu *B*.

6 qui *Citarelli*: cui *B*: quia *H*.

7 quamvis....deranda: *codex hic mutilatus est. Funaioli sic lacunam complet - quamvis dicis obicienda considerata. H 'virilia' post obicienda insere velit.*

8-9 ET QUI TE *et sequ.*: *lacunam codicis V et al. auxilio Funaioli Complevit - ET QUI TE de turpitudine dicit eius. TRANSVERSA retro conversa id est trans angulos oculorum aspicientes fornicatorem verecunde stuprum transversis oculis vel humillimis intueri. RISERE indulgere. SACELLO sacro loco. SACELLO deminutivum ut alii ab eo quia est sacer.*

9 propitiae *H*: proprie *B*.

11 FALCE poemate.

12 AUT HIC nonne te vidi? AD VETERES FAGOS ubicumque quia fagi ubique sunt, vel privati loci indicium. DAPHNIDIS Daphnis Amyclaei* filia ab Apolline adamata, quae, cum fugeret vim amatoris, in laurum conversa est.

DAPHNIS alii eum Neptuni filium dicunt.

12 DAPHNIDIS Augusti, quia haec omnia certaminibus Antonii et Augusti conveniunt. DAPHNIDIS alii dicunt Daphnim unam de Nymphis, ab Apolline vitiatam, et pro proprio pudore*, ne* apud sorores esset et infamis,* ab Iove petisse ut in laurum verteretur. ex ea arbore Apollinem diadema* amoris gratia* sibi parasse, quod virens est semper ut sol novus. ARCUM pro carmine vel exercitu Augusti.

13 CALAMOS pro scriptura.

13 PERVERSE MENALCA illo tempore quo* dedisti operam ut me ingratum Caesari* faceres studiaque mea apud illum reprobares.

14 PUERO Theocrito vel Caesari.

15 ALIQUA aliqua ratione. NOCUISSSES vel me vel illum detraxisses.

12 Amyclaei: amiclei B.

12 pro proprio pudore *scripsi*: proprio pudore B: prae pudore H.

12 ne H: nec B.

12 et prae pudore, ne apud sorores esset infamis: *coni. H.*

12 diadema *Mueller*: *dm* B.

12 gratia *Mueller*: gratiam B.

13 quo H: quod B.

13 Caesari: caesare B.

16 DOMINI sinceri vel liberi. QUID DOMINI FACIANT quid faciunt qui possunt, male*, cum tu, qui furto* possides agrum meum, fiduciam adversus me sumpseris?

16 FURES servi. FURES de officiis nomina imponuntur hominibus: ut philosophus de philosophia, ita et fur de furto, quia 'furvae' ducuntur tenebrae.

17 NON nonne. NON* EGO TE ET RELIQUA crimen* crimini obiciunt, iste stuprum, ille furtum.

17 DAMONIS Antonii, quia cum Antonio Mantuani erant antequam vincerentur ab Augusto. CAPRUM agrum.

18 EXCIPERE velle percutere. LYCISCA canis de lupo et de domestico cane conceptus.

18 MULTUM* LATRANTE alligorice plurimis reclamantibus. LYCISCA alligorice Mantua.

19 SE PRORIPIT ingerit, immittit.

19 ILLE fur.

20 TITYRE alligorice Antoni*. COGE collige. TU Damoeta.

20 CARECTA carice saepta, ut 'carice pastus acuta'⁴, et alligorice sub tutela Pollionis.

16 male *conieci*: mali B et H.

16 furto: forto B.

17 NON: nonne B.

17 crimen: *orig.* cremen; *corr. man. posterior.*

18 MULTUM: multrum B.

20 Antoni H: atoni B.

21 AN pro 'num'*; rectius pro 'ergo', ut Cominianus* dicit.⁵

21 VICTUS pastor* cantando. NON REDDERET nonne debuerat* reddere* mihi agrum quem merui carminibus. ILLE Damon, alligorice Octavianus.

22 CAPRUM agrum.

23 CAPER ager. DAMON Caesar.

24 REDDERE POSSE NEGABAT quia distributus* erat militibus.

25 CANTANDO ad magnitudinem.

25 AUT UMQUAM numquam.

26 VINCTA iuncta. NON* TU ad despectum. IN TRIVIIS Romae pastores cum ovibus circumeuntes, in locis triviis stantes cantu pastoralis eos admonent qui lac emere volunt, itaque sub praesentia emptorum lac venditur*. inde dixit, 'non tu in triviis'.

26 IN TRIVIIS triviae tres viae*. INDOCTE adverbium: homo nullius* momenti eras.

21 num *H* et fere omnes editores, cum Charisio: cum B.

21 Cominianus: cominianus B.

21 pastor *Mueller*: pastus B: superatus *H*.

21 debuerat *H*: debuera B.

21 reddere *H*: redderet B.

24 distributus *H*: distributu B.

26 NON: no B.

26 venditur: venditor B.

26 triviae tres viae: trivie tresive B.

26 nullius *H*: nullus B.

5 Cominianus was apparently a fourth-century grammarian, said to have written an Ars which is no longer extant but is referred to by Charisius (in Keil, Grammatici Latini I. 1-296).

27 MISERUM miserum carmen a te* canitur, vel
quod in triviis ubi <Ceres> ululavit filiam suam
Proserpinam et quaerebat, et pastores ululabant
[Ceres]*.

27 STIPULA culmo frumenti vel ordeï. DISPERDERE
socordia* spargere.

29 EXPERIAMUR probemus. VITULAM si vitulam, cur dixit
'bis venit ad mulctram'⁶? vitulam dixit pro vacca. NE
FORTE RECUSES hic sensus est non 'ne vitulam recuses',
sed 'ne contendere recuses'.

29 HANC VITULAM alligorice bucolicam. RECUSES
Menalca.

30 BIS VENIT AD MULCTRAM duplici sensu bucolica
intellegitur, historiae et alligoriae.

30 BIS VENIT mane et sero. MULCTRA....mulgetur*.

32 NON AUSIM alligorice Cornificius negat se
velle contendere.

33 INIUSTA odiosa*, inimica privignis.

31 DEPONO promitto. QUO PIGNORE*....a pignus
sponsionis est*.

27 a te *H*: ante B: cf. ad VIII. 11.

27 <Ceres>....[Ceres] *transposui*: ubi ululans Ceres filiam suam Proserpinam, et pastores ululabant *H*.

27 socordia *scripsi*: concordia B: cum socordia *H*.

30 MULCTRA....mulgetur: 7 fere litt. mihi obsc. sunt: vas in quo mulgetur *H*.

33 odiosa: adiosa B.

31 PIGNORE: pignor B.

31 qua sponsione quia pignus sponsionis est *suppl. H ex C*; desunt fere 15 litt.

32 NON AUSIM*

[Folio 9r.]

34 ALTER ET HAEDOS quidam synaloepham* putant, sed ad naturam humanam respicere debemus; si quando enim mixtos videmus viros et feminas, 'qui' nos illos* dicimus, non 'quae'.

34 BIS NUMERANT AMBO dum exeunt mane et sero cum redeunt ab ambobus numerantur pecora. ALTER noverca.

35 FATEBERE fateberis.

36 INSANIRE LIBET id est ego cantare debeo quia poetae insanire dicuntur cantando.

36 POCULA alligorice duo libri Georgicorum.

37 FAGINA non recte dicitur; 'faginea' enim dicendum ex fago, tam quam 'ulmea' ab ulmo et 'populea' a populo.

37 DIVINI OPUS artificem gloriatur.

ALCIMEDONTIS alligorice Hesiodi qui duos libros Georgicorum composuit.

38 FACILIS SUPERADDITA flexibilis. FACILIS ad materiam* refertur, vel ad laudem artificis, sed magis ad vitem. VITIS quia de vitibus ibi mentionem fecit.

38 SUPERADDITA torno addita.

32 NON AUSIM.....: fere 40 litt. ad imum folium hodie evanidae sunt; H auxilio C ita scripsit - non ausus sim. EST MIHI sub cuius imperio vivo. pater vel noverca, impedimenta captivitatis vel infirmitatis.

34 synaloepham: sinalypha B.

34 illos coni. Mueller: illi B.

38 materiam: matheria B, ut saepe.

39 HAEDERA folio viridi, ab haerendo* arbori dicta.⁷
VESTIT id est magister.

39 DIFFUSOS ET RELIQUA alligorice de lignis in
Georgicis refert. CORYMBOS botryo hederae*.

40 CONON Samius genere, mathematicus, stellarum*
peritissimus* magister, vel, ut* quidam, Alexandrinus qui
cum Ptolomaeo* fuit.

40 QUIS FUIT ALTER quis quidam. cur nomen huius
non posuit? quia a Romanis occisus est. et acute
ut eruditum pastorem induceret, et edoctum mathe-
maticum significat et eundem philosophum, Platonis
discipulum, vel, ut quidam, Arati.

41 RADIO id est virga philosophorum, per quam inventa
est geometrica. quoniam Nilum totam Aegyptum operuit,
inde philosophi in aere mensurabant* fines singulorum*,
qui deturbati per aquae diluvium fuerant.

39 haerendo: erendo B.

39 botryo hederæ *conieci*: botros hedere B. *H et Citarelli, nescio qua ratione, DIFFUSOS....hedere omittunt.*

40 stellarum: a *corr. altera man.*

40 peritissimus: paritissimos B, *aut, secundum H*, paeritissimos; *ab altera manu correcta est.*

40 vel ut *H*: velud B.

40 Ptolomaeo: ptholomeo B.

41 mensurabant *H*: mensurabam *B*.

41 singularum: *H et alii 'agrorum' post hoc excidisse suspicantur.*

7 Cf. Isidore Etym. XVII.ix.22: 'Hedera dicta quod
arboribus reptando adhaereat. De qua Vergilius [Ecl.
VIII.13]: "Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere
lauros"'.
8

- 42 TEMPORA QUAE MESSOR ET ARATOR HABERET
alligorice Hesiodus qui artem georgicam de
temporibus et aratris scripsit.
- 43 NECDUM ILLIS LABRA ADMOVI ad usum convivii.
43 NECDUM alligorice necdum cantavi.
- 45 CIRCUM circiter. ANSAS sicut ansae additae fiunt,
sic duos libros addimus. AMPLEXUS Alcimedon.
- 45 ACANTHO genus herbae.
- 46 ORPHEA accusativus. ORPHEA nomina pomposa ad
poculorum laudem non ineleganter adiunxit*.
- 46 SEQUENTES mutatas quia mutatae* sunt silvae
illius cantilena.
- 48 VITULAM quam adposui nomine pignoris.
48 NIHIL EST QUOD POCULA LAUDES o Palaemon, id
est Caesar. alligorice, si Bucolica volueris,
quid Georgica laudas?
- 49 QUOCUMQUE VOCARIS ad quodcumque vocaveris*.
- 50 AUDIAT aliquis. is audiat, inquit, quem casus
obtulerit, vicinus noster. QUI aliquis.
- 50 PALAEMON iudex causae, alligorice Caesar.
- 51 EFFICIAM pro effigiem*, imaginem. POSTHAC post hoc.
- 51 LACESSAS non provoces. propone quicquid

46 ineleganter adiunxit: inellegantur adiuncxit B.
46 mutatas/mutate B: motatas/motatae *praefert* H.
49 vocaveris H: vocaberis B.
51 effigiem: effugiem *sed cum puncto super u* B.

velis, incipe dicere*.⁸

52 QUIN AGE immo potius. AGE aut adverbium temporis
aut verbum imperativum.

52 SI QUID HABES dic, propone quicquid velis,
incipere dicere. NON ERIT non erunt.

54 SENSIBUS HAEC IMIS* adhuc iratus est.

54 REPONAS ut facile possis nostram discernere
discrepationem.

55 DICITE QUANDOQUIDEM alligorice quoniam #subicent pax
est#*. QUANDO quatenus.

55 MOLLI CONSEDIMUS HERBA quoniam suaviore odore
herbarum consedimus et delectamur, incipere*.

56 PARTURIT fetum reddit*, pullulat.

57 ANNUS totum pro parte; vernum enim* tempus
dicit quo aves incipiunt cantare.

[Folio 9v.]

58 DAMOETA Virgili.

58 MENALCA Cornifici.

59 ALTERNIS sermonibus. DICETIS pro dicite.

51 propone....dicere *H haec uncis secludit.*

54 IMIS: in imis B.

55 subicent pax est: ubique nunc pax est *H.*

55 incipere: incipite *H.*

56 fetum reddit *Mueller:* fetu redit B.

57 enim: enin B.

8 PROPONE...DICERE. It may be suspected that these words have been dislocated, belonging properly with 'QUIN AGE immo potius' in the opposite column. Yet the manuscript provides plenty of space in both columns, so that it is difficult to see why such a dislocation should have occurred. On balance it is safer to retain the reading - with a mental reservation.

59 ALTERNA carmina. CAMENAE deae carminum vel cantionis*.

60 AB IOVE Iovem enim quidam volunt dicere calorem hominum animis inhaerentem.

60 AB IOVE PRINCIPIUM adolatur Augusto quia ab Iove duxit horiginem. IOVIS Caesaris. OMNIA omnipotens. PLENA plena sunt.

61 ILLI MEA CARMINA CURAE fecunda fecit aut quod poeta est.

61 ILLI MEA CARMINA CURAE ideo ait 'amat me Phoebus', aut quod horiginem geniturae ex isto versu comprehendit*. nam fertur mater Virgili Maia, cum eundem paritura gravis esset, somnio etiam* lauri fructum se peperisse: denique de poeta ille versus ostendit.

62 PHOEBUS alligorice Caesar filius Iovis. PHOEBUS SUA SEMPER APUT ME de Virgilio hoc alligorice intellegendum.

62 ET ME AMAT alter amicitia Caesaris, alter familiaritate contendens <se>* iactat. PHOEBUS Apollo quem solem esse volunt. ET ME PHOEBUS quia honoraverunt me Iuppiter et Apollo.

59 cantionis *H*: canciones *B*.

61 ILLI....comprehendit *H* putat glossam ad hoc lemma pertinentem, et lemma sequens, excidisse.

61 somnio etiam *conieci*: somniavisse *H*: somnia eg *B*: somniasse *Explanationes I et II*.

62 <se> addidit *H*.

63 LAURI quia in tutela Apollinis erant. SUAVE odore.
 RUBENS rubei coloris flores. HYACINTHUS puer prope amnem
 Eurotam*, dum cum Apolline ad discum iaciendum* ludit,
 per inprudentiam incautus interiit, eumque Nymphae
 fleverunt, earum ut lacrimis inriguus fons* crearetur.
 inde rubeus Hyacinthus dicitur, colori solis
 comparatus.

63 HYACINTHUS puer pulcherrimae formae fuisse
 traditur*, ab Apolline dilectus et ab eodem
 inprudenti ludicro disco peremptus* est, de cuius
 cineribus flores nati sunt et nomine* eius
 conscripti* sunt.

64 MALO omni ora*.⁹ GALATEA filia vel
 concubina. PETIT percussit, adpetit. GALATEA
 alligorice Mantua vel Gallia, quae blandimentis
 petit. LASCIVA* luxuriosa, ultro volens.
 LASCIVA* alligorice, 'mihi mens optata contigit
 praesentia Caesaris.

65 AD SALICES ad poetas peiores.

63 Eurotam *H*: erodotum B.
 63 ad discum iaciendum *coni. H*: ad discendum B.
 63 fons B: flos *coni. H*.
 63 traditur: traditor B.
 63 peremptus *Mueller*: ptus B.
 63 nomine *Mueller*: nomen B.
 63 conscripti B: inscripti *coni. H*.
 64 omni ora B: carmine *H*: munere *Citarelli*.
 64 LASCIVA: lascivi B, *sed alt. manus addidit a supra*.
 64 LASCIVA: lascivia B.

9 Has omni hora been dislocated from semper (v. 62),
 which occurs four lines above in the manuscript? Both
Explanaciones likewise place it in the present context.

66 IGNIS amor.

66 MEUS IGNIS AMYNTAS alligorice meus amor
Antonius.

67 NOTIOR ut Amyntas non minus notior sit nostris
canibus quam Delia.

67 <DELIA>* nomen amicae vel concubinae Menalcae.

67 DELIA alligorice Diana de Delo* insula.

68 PARTA pro parata. MEAE amicae Galateae. VENERI
adulatur Caesarem qui de stirpe Veneris venit.

68 MUNERA myrti. NAMQUE NOTAVI inveni quae
cupiebam mihi contingere, id est amicitiam
Caesaris.

69 LOCUM altare in nomine eius. AERIAE aerei coloris.

69 CONGESSERE nidificando; alligorice loquitur.
AERIAE PALUMBES aliquando hii*¹⁰ palumbes.

70 PUERO Antonio vel Augusto.

70 SILVESTRI agresti. ARBORE carmine. PUERO
SILVESTRI EX ARBORE LECTA AUREA MALA DECEM MISI
alligorice ex agresti carmine decem eglogas misi
Octaviano scriptas.

71 CRAS pro futuro tempore. ALTERA Georgica vel
Aeneidos.

67 <DELIA> *lemma add. H.*

67 Delo *H: delon B.*

69 hii *B: hi scripsit H.*

10 PALUMBES can be either masculine or feminine. There is no reason to follow Hagen in departing from the form hii, which is of quite frequent occurrence in these scholia; cf. ad Ecl. V. Intro and VII.63.

72 O QUOTIENS ad Caesarem alligorice loquitur, ut sciat
quomodo eum diligat Mantua.

73 PARTEM ALIQUAM si non totum.

73 REFERATIS optativo modo.

74 QUID PRODEST amor tuus dum in diversis locis
moramur.

74 NON SPERNIS sed diligis. AMYNTE Antoni* vel
Caesar.

75 EGO RETIA SERVO Virgilius tangit alligorice
pugnantem Octavianum contra Antonium....*et
Virgilium non dimittebat dimicare. RETIA SERVO
stabilis sum. EGO RETIA SERVO tu voluptatem*
capis venando. [EGO RETIA SERVO Virgilius tangit
alligorice pugnantem Octavianum contra Antonium et
Virgilium non dimittebat dimicare.]*

76 PHYLLIDA accusativus casus: nomen mulieris cum qua
fuit amica eius. NATALIS dies natalicius. IOLLA
vocativus casus: amica communis.

76 NATALIS natalem pro recipiendis agris* dicit.
IOLLAM dominum* accipimus Mantuanorum. PHYLLIDA
vero felicitatem, id est 'mitte mihi felicitatem'.
IOLLA alligorice Augustus.

74 Antoni: antonii B.

75sensus deficit, sed in codice lacuna non est.

75 voluptatem Mueller: voluntatem B.

75 hanc iterationem ignorant et H et Citarelli.

76 agris: agros B.

76 dominum Mueller: deum H: dñ B.

77 CUM FACIAM cum aliis sacrificem. VITULAM antiqui, antequam messes meterent, vitulam ducebant circa* messes, ac post sacrificium incipiebant secare.

77 IPSE VENITO ut tibi sacrificem.

78 PHYLLIDA accusativus casus: dicunt ambo Phyllidam amare. ANTE ALIAS super alias.

78 PHYLLIDA dea, et sub eius nomine Antonius vel Caesar alligorice intellegitur.

79 LONGUM diu.

79 IOLLA Antonius.

80 TRISTE adverbium. LUPUS inimicus vel herba quam pecora....*

80 MATURIS FRUGIBUS IMBRES vi enim pullulantis frugis spem eiciunt. hic Cornificius poeta sub Damoeta intellegitur et hic sensus est: sicut haec contraria contrariis repugnant, sic nobis Romanae irae quia exul fuit, ut alii.

81 ARBORIBUS VENTI decutiunt enim flores. NOBIS Mantuanis.

[Folio 10r.]

82 DULCE adverbium. SATIS seminatis. UMOR pluvia vel ros. DULCE SATIS ET RELIQUA ut amant sata umorem, haedi arbutum, sic ego unice Caesarem diligo. hic Virgilius sub persona Menalcae intellegitur.

77 ducebant circa H: ducebantur ca B.

80 in codice lacuna non apparet.

82 ARBUTUS putol¹¹ autem poetam hoc loco nomine
arbuti non certum arboris genus definire, sed
solita figura orationis speciem unam pro genere
posuisse, hoc est frondes arborum. agnis preg-
nantibus autem salices gratas significat esse.

84 POLLIO AMAT NOSTRAM Caesar. hic adulatur consulem.
POLLIO hic magister equitum fuit Caesaris et hic apparet
quod in honorem Pollionis haec egloga scripta est.

85 PIERIDES Nymphae Pierides*. VITULAM optimum carmen
vel honorem vel amorem.

85 LECTORI amatori, ut ei sacrificetis.

86 POLLIO ET IPSE nunc respondet* sibimet quod ideo non
diligitur a Pollione*, quia ipse sibi cantare possit.

86 NOVA mirabilia. PASCITE TAURUM quia erat
praemium poetis taurus propositus. alligorice
taurum amorem maiorem quia meliora* carmina cano.

87 CORNU PETAT feriat.

88 QUI TE POLLIO ET RELIQUA Asinius Pollio*, consularis
vir, tragoedographus* cuius beneficio Virgilius in
amicitiam Caesaris*. et sensus est: qui te amat, rerum

85 Pierides *H*: piherides *B*.

86 respondet: respondit *B*.

86 diligitur a Pollione *Mueller*: diligit abapollone *B*.

86 meliora: meliorem *B*.

88 Pollio: apollo *B*.

88 tragoedographus: tragoedografus *B*.

88 cuius beneficio Virgilius: *hic H* 'venit', *Funaioli* 'venit receptus' *supplevit*.

11 PUTO. Note this personal comment, which is one of only six such in these Scholia, the others being the famous comment on *Ecl.* III.90 below, and *ad Ecl.* V.74, VI.74, VI.79 and X.colophon.

natura mutabitur ei, vel ad amorem* vel ad utilitatem.
 QUO TE QUOQUE una tecum.

88 · VENIAT* ad consulatum*. GAUDET venisse.
 89 MELLA FLUANT ILLI aurea saecula dicit. FLUANT stil-
 lent.* RUBUS spineta. AMOMUM genus herbae vel flos.
 90 AMET pro poena* dicit. MAEVI hic Cornificius
 Virgilium vituperat* sub nomine Maevi. MAEVI alligorice
 Virgilius.

90 Bavius et Maeuius duo poetae pessimi
 Athenienses* sui temporis, ex quibus Bavius*
 curator fuit, et quibus omnia sua erant communia,
 ut spiritus unus geminis corporibus diceretur
 inesse. sed postquam alterius uxor cum altero
 concubuit, <alter>* amicitiam dissolvit et nova
 regna accipiunt. de Maevio nihil repperi.¹²

88 amorem B: amoenitatem *coni.* H.

88 VENIAT: venia B.

88 consulatum: consolatium B.

89 dicit. FLUANT stillent *emend.* H: distillant B.

90 poena: pena B.

90 vituperat: viteperat B.

90 Athenienses B: *H* *omitt.*, et cum *Sauppio add.* 'ut Haterianus ait' post temporis.

90 Bavius: vavius B *ut saepe.*

90 <alter> *addidit H e 'Philargyrii' Explanationibus I et II.*

12 DE MAEVIO NIHIL REPPERI. The most famous gloss in the whole of the Scholia Bernensia. The significance of it has been discussed in Chapter Five. Cf. Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, Epistula V 'de participio' (Huemer, p. 165): 'Maeuius vir in carminibus dulcissimis, de quo illud praecentum est: qui farum mellis non amat, odit tua carmina, Maeui. hic eloquentissimum carmen in octo partes orationis edidit, in quo haec ait...' For the supposed Irish origins of this writer, see M. Herren, 'Some New Light on the Life of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus'.

quorum quoque carmina ob* humilitatem abiecta
sunt, et inimici Virgilio erant. sensus est: hic
qui Bavium, pessimum poetam, amat,* etiam Maevium
peiores ut duplum habeat malum. Eusebius* dicit:
M.* Bavius poeta, quem Virgilius in Bucolicis
notat, in Cappadocia* moritur.¹³

91 IUNGAT aratro. VULPES haec pro impossibilitate
dicuntur.

91 ET MULGEAT HIRCOS hoc est, rerum odiosarum
pereat sterilitate* ut maiora habeat*.

92 QUI LEGITIS FLORES ad suos cives dicit ante
indulgentiam.

92 ET HUMI NASCENTIA FRAGA poma iuxta terram
nata.

90 ob: ab B.

90 *H add.* 'amet' *inter* amat *et* etiam.

90 Eusebius *suppl.* H: eu B.

90 M.: m B.

90 Cappadocia: capadotia B.

91 sterilitate: sterelitate B.

91 ut maiora B: ut malam rem *coni.* H.

13 Jerome, in his redaction of Eusebius, records the death of the poet Bavius in 35 BC, but it may be asked whether any purpose is served - in the present context - by tracing the lives of these two 'Athenian' poets, when so great an overlay of fiction obscures the ultimate truth. Again the question arises, are we attempting a reconstruction of classical lore, or rather an edition of an early medieval notebook, warts and all? Of greater interest than the circumstances of the lives of the 'real' Bavius and Maevius must be the process of invention which pursued their names. Both Explanationes agree closely on a rather more detailed anecdote here.

93 FRIGIDUS aut nocens, aut quia in frigore moritur,
aut natura frigidus, et per morsum frigidus facit.

FRIGIDUS ANGUIS milites quibus agri dati sunt.

93 FRIGIDUS O PUERI ET RELIQUA alligorice
Claudius qui putavit se inpune agrum Virgilii
habiturum, si eum occideret*. aliter, ad eos
dicit qui tunc populati sunt cives suos, ut
moderate agerent. serpentem se dicit.

94 PARCITE ad cives dicit. NIMIUM PROCEDERE ulterius
ingredi.

94 NON BENE pro impetu militum vel pro se ipso.

95 IPSE Virgilius ipse vel Octavianus. ARIES aestivo*
tempore oritur quo maxime incalescit. quidam Virgilium
interfici voluit; is vero, transnato fluvio, vix potuit
vestitus evadere, ibique vestem suam in ripa*
contrapospita siccavit*. alligorice, Mantuani* videte, ne
quid temere faciatis, cum ipse Virgilius periculum
evaserit praeceps.

95 VELLERA SICCAT vestes ad pugnam cingit.

96 TITYRE de se dicit.

96 REICE amove, fuga.

97 UBI TEMPUS ERIT post indulgentiam.

97 IN FONTE non in fluvio. LAVABO purificabo.
alligorice de agris recipiendis intellegendum est.

93 occideret: occiderit B.

95 aestivo *H*: stivo B.

95 ripa: rapi B.

95 siccavit: sicavit B.

95 Mantuani *H*: mantua B.

98 COGITE servate. PRAECEPERIT* exsiccaverit*, praeocupaverit.

98 AESTUS ardor; nam solis calore lac consumitur, nisi mulsum fuerit. alligorice turbido bello* Augusti et Antonii.

99 NUPER heri*. FRUSTRA inane, quia lac non habent.

100 EHEU dolentis interiectio. MACER exilis.

100 TAURUS MACER alligorice, licet agri redditu sint*, tamen timore consumor, vel, quamvis in opulento statu apud Romanos sim, tamen lacerat me amor agri.

101 EXITIUM* PECORI alligorice cives taedet reservari ad sua.

101 PECORISQUE MAGISTRO tauro, vel se magistrum dicit. MAGISTRO magistro est.

102 HIS agnis meis; alligorice Cornificio.

102 HAERENT moventur*. VIX HAERENT nimia macie ac tabe* conficiuntur. maciei causam non amor praestat*. alligorice, cives non sperant, et exilio torquentur.

103 NESCIO QUIS nescio unde haec mala.

98 PRAECEPERIT: preciperit B.

98 exsiccaverit: exicaverit B.

98 turbido bello *emendavi*: turbido belli B: turbida bella *Mueller et H.*

99 heri: haeri B.

100 sint *Mueller*: sunt B et H.

101 EXITIUM: exitum B.

102 moventur *H*: movent B: cohaerent *Citarelli, aux. Servii*: 'vix ossa eorum cohaerent'.

102 macie ac tabe *H*: maciaetate B, *sed existentiam formae novae 'macietas/macietatis' lector suspicari potest.*

102 maciei....praestat *coni. H*: macies causa n amoris prestat B.

104 DIC hic* dedit locum solvendi quaestiones, ut 'Musa mihi' et reliqua¹⁴. pastor pastori, poeta poetae proponit problema*.

104 QUIBUS IN TERRIS sive in Graecia* sive in Italia. ET ERIS MIHI MAGNUS APOLLO in honore Apollinis te adorabo.

105 CAELI SPATIUM ET RELIQUA alii dicunt clipeum Aiacis trium* ulnarum, in quo expressa caeli forma fuit; hoc est Hyacinthum* significat quem Ajax occidit*. alii specum in Sicilia, angusto ore, profunda altitudine, per quam rapta est Proserpina a Dite patre. alii mundum in sacro Cereris, et caelum pro mundum positum dicunt. aliter, aput antiquos fuit altissimus puteus in quem descendebat puer ad sacra celebranda*, quo cognosceret anni proventus. cuius putei orbis, id est summus circulus, non amplius quam trium ulnarum* mensuram habebat. cumque descendisset, sursum aspiciens non ampliorem caeli partem, quam quod puteus habuit, poterat videre. dicit Cornutus¹⁵ ab ipso Virgilio audisse, quod

104 hic *scripsi*: dic B.

104 problema *H*: problesma B.

104 Graecia: gretia B.

105 trium: treu B.

105 Hyacinthum: iacinthu B.

105 hoc est Hyacinthum....occidit: *haec ad vs. 107 pertinere opinatur H*.

105 ad sacra celebranda: *haec post proventus H et alii ponunt*.

105 ulnarum *H*: urnarum B.

14 Aen. I.8.

15 Hagen prefers to read Cornelius, referring to Ribbeck, Prol. Verg. p.97. One of the three MSS containing the Explanatio I (P) agrees with the Scholia Bernensia and reads Cornutus; the other two (L and N) read cornif (presumably Cornificius). Explanatio II is

Caelium* Mantuanum quendam tetigit, qui, consumptis omnibus facultatibus, nihil sibi reliquit nisi locum trium ulnarum, spatium ad sepulturam, et 'caeli' pro 'Caelii' dixit.

105 item¹⁶ CAELI SPATIUM Ovidius Naso orificium ait*, quia* tantum caelum patere videtur quantum orificium* patet. Item Asconius Pedianus ait se audisse Virgilium dicentem in hoc loco
maticis* crucem fixisse; quaesituros ...s* si quis studiosius occuleretur. dicit autem propter
 Mantuan...* hoc tantum posuit alligorice
* noluit Virgilius Octavianum*

[Folio 10 v.]

105 Caelium *H*: caelum *B*.

105 Ovidius....ait: Aufidius esse orificium ait *scripsit Funaioli*: torificium *B*.

105 quia *H*: qui *B*.

105 orificium: torificium *B*.

105maticis: *textus evanidus*; editores priores legunt 'se grammaticis'.

105 ..s: eos *H*: quaesituris res *Mueller*.

105 Mantuan...: Caelium Mantuanum *H*.

105 fere 40 litt. obsc., sed *H* discernit: 'id est in illo loco noluissem te adloqui, hoc est'.

105 obsc.: videre in ... Galliae loco *H*: videre in parvo Galliae loco *suppl. Funaioli ex V*.

silent on this matter. As so often with such scholiastic allusions, the surviving grammatical fragments of Cornutus (assuming that L. Annaeus Cornutus is intended) do not substantiate the story told here.

16 ITEM. It seems clear from the use of this word that here, at least, a single set of notes has been continued across from the left to the right-hand column.

106 DIC responsio. INSCRIPTI NOMINA REGUM
 Aiacis, Hyacinthi*, alii Adonis. alligorice
 flores omnia poemata, nomen Octaviani
 demonstrantia et Antonii.

107 NASCANTUR* FLORES eos flores qui literarum
 demonstrant formam nomine #optinent#*. Ajax cum se
 interfecit gladio Hectoris, flores violae e* terra
 sanguine concretae* litteras habuerunt* exortae* nomen
 Aiacis exprimentes. habuerunt enim 'ae ae'*.

107 PHYLLIDA accusativus casus. SOLUS HABETO tua
 erit amica et Antonii. #resere#* quaestionem.

108 NON NOSTRUM non nostrae peritiae.

108 NON NOSTRUM non est certantum, id est
 vestrum, sed iudicantum. CONPONERE iudicare,
 finire*.

109 TU Damoeta. DIGNUS more iudicis. ET QUISQUIS id
 est, qui amet quid, videat ne odiat. alligorice
 recapitulatio de amore Octaviani et Antonii.

109 ET HIC dignus Phyllida. ET QUISQUIS AMORES
 ET RELIQUA recapitulatio: qui* amat, ne amittat,

106 Hyacinthi: acinthis B.

107 NASCANTUR: nascitur B.

107 optinent B: nominari optat *coni.* H.

107 e: et B.

107 concretae: concrete B: concreto *non recte* H.

107 habuerunt: haber.

107 exortae: H *et alii hoc post 'concrete' ponunt.*

107 ae ae: aee B.

107 resere: si reseres *coni.* H.

108 iudicare, finire: H *nescio qua ratione haec verba omittit.*

109 qui H: quia B.

et qui studiorum amore flagrauit, ne* labore
desit.

110 AUT METUET DULCIS donec amat. AUT EXPERIETUR AMAROS
postquam impetraverit.

110 si METUET DULCIS, experietur amaros, sin
autem non metuet amaros, experietur dulces.

111 CLAUDITE ET RELIQUA Palaemon ipse processerat agros
suos inrigare, sed iudex residens servis suis hoc facere
permiserat. ideo ergo dicit sufficienter esse inrigatos
agros. CLAUDITE hoc est cantare desinite; satiat enim
audiendo sonus*, Isio*¹⁷ ait.

111 CLAUDITE ET RELIQUA alligorice carmen
finiendum dicit. RIVOS linguas. PRATA mentes vel
aures audientium.

109 ne *Mueller*: nec B.

111 satiat....sonus B: satiati enim audiendo sumus *scripsit H Servio innitens*.

111 Isio: isiq B: Isidorus *H*.

17 ISIO. Hagen confidently takes this to be an authentic reference to Isidore. Cf. *Ecl.* IX.29, and the discussion of Isidore's supposed influence in Chapter Three. Cf. Servius: 'aut certe allegoricos hoc dicit: iam cantare desinite; satiati enim audiendo sumus'. I cannot find a likely source for this gloss in the surviving works of Isidore. No doubt this is an example of the medieval scholar's fondness for name-dropping combined with the habit of quoting from memory, a dangerous practice in view of the paucity of research materials. If any conclusion can be drawn at all, it may be simply that the name of Isidore was held to have a certain *cachet* in the circles from which such commentaries as this emerged.

ECLOGUE IV

Hanc eglogam scriptam esse aiunt in Asinium Pollionem. quidam in filium eius Saloninum, alii in ipsum Caesarem. Saloninus dictus a Salonis, civitate Dalmatiae, nam Pollio pro consule Dalmatiae constitutus progeniit eum. in hac egloga solus poeta loquitur de restauratione novi seculi. hoc est Saturni regnum aureum sub Octaviano adulanter restauratur, quod secundum Christianos ad novum testamentum per* Christum et Mariam renovatum de pravato* convenit. hanc eglogam alii dicunt in laudem Pollionis eum fecisse, alii autem in filium eius Salonium, qui ab eo nomen accipit quod illo tempore pater eius Salonas expugnavit. alii in laudem Caesaris sive Marcelli filii Octaviae.

in hac egloga simpliciter poeta canit genesim renascentis mundi sub Caesaribus. in hac egloga poeta duobus modis Augusto adolatur, habundantia rerum et carminis* modulamine. in hac egloga palingenesiam* inducit, id est mundi iterum infantiam. haec egloga sic habetur quasi in Sicilia. haec egloga aliquando sic habetur quasi

per: *sensus requirit, sed abbrev. 'pro' scriba usus est.*
 de pravato *H: depranate B.*
 carminis: *carmine B.*
 palingenesiam *bene scripsit H: talem genesim B.*

in agro, ut 'non omnis arbusta iuvant'¹;
 aliquando in urbe, <ut>* 'incipere, parve puer, risu
 cognoscere matrem'². haec egloga non proprie
 bucolicon* dicitur. novi seculi interpretatio
 quod praedixit Sibylla*.

1 SICILIDES Siciliae* facit mentionem quia Theocritum
 Siculum imitatur in bucolicis*. MUSAE vocativus casus*.
 PAULO MAIORA maiorem laudem.

1 SICILIDES MUSAE Musas siculas invocat,
 quoniam sculus fuit Theocritus quem in bucolicis
 imitatur. SICILIDES id est sicilienses. PAULO
 MAIORA CANAMUS quia novum seculum de quo dicturus
 est vetus praecellit.

2 OMNIS pro omnia. NON OMNIS ARBUSTA IUVENT id est
 non omnis delectat pastorale carmen. iuvat delectat.
 MYRICAE* genus fructu.

2 NON OMNIS ARBUSTA IUVENT ac* si alligorice
 diceret: non omnes populi laudem emunt*, vel
 vicem laudis suae reddunt. ideo regnum Octaviani

<ut> scripsit H.

bucolicon: bucolico B.

Sibylla: sibilla B ut saepe.

1 Siciliae H: sicilide B.

1 bucolicis: bocolicis B ut saepe.

1 vocativus casus H: voc acgs B.

2 MYRICAE: mirice B.

2 ac H: hac B.

2 emunt B: amant Mueller et H.

1 Verse 2.

2 Verse 60.

et consules laudabo et cantabo [et cantabo]; vel
omnia ad Christum referuntur. MYRICAE virgultum
infructuosum, alligorice carmina* humiliora.

3 SI CANIMUS SILVAS si* de rusticis rebus scribimus.
CONSULE Pollione qui praeerat agris dividendis.

3 SI CANIMUS SILVAS³ id est sic animus meus
digne silvas id est pastorale carmen expediat, vel
sic animus Pollionis silvas diligat, hoc est
carmen meum. SILVAE SINT CONSULE DIGNAE id est
possim et ego in bucolicis digne aliquid de
Pollione scribere, qui utique erat designatus
consul eo tempore quo agris praeerat dividendis.

4 ULTIMA suprema. CYMAEI Sibylliaci. CYMAEI* quia
Sibylla quattuor deorum descripsit regna, quae 'cymaea'
dicitur de monte Cymo, et haec est Sibylla quae de
Christo cecinit multa. sed melius Hesiodi carminis quo*
Cymaeus* de Cyme Asiae civitate dicitur. AETAS tempus.

4 ULTIMA CYMAEI alii Sibyllam quae cymaea fuit
intellegunt, quae quattuor secula libris suis
digessit*: aureum, argenteum, aereum et ferreum.
alii verius Hesiodum qui aput Cymem urbem Asiae

2 carmina: carm B.

3 si H: sic B.

4 CYMAEI: cimei B.

4 quo *scripsi*: que B: qui H.

4 Cymaeus: cyneus B.

4 digessit: degessit B.

3 SI CANIMUS SILVAS. Hagen notes: 'Patet ex scholii habitu, scholiastam "sic animus" pro "si canimus" per delirantiam legisse.

vixit quique per ordinem, ut Sibylla, deorum regna
scripsit et ait regna in caelo esse diversa:
primum Saturni fuisse aureum; deinde Iovis
argenteum*; Neptuni aeneum; ferreum postremo
Apollinis. hoc sequitur Virgilius regnum, quod
posteritatem significat et ad Apollinem pertinere
ait, et in honorem Caesaris quia Apollinem se
Augustus vult accipi. ULTIMA CYMAEI CARMINIS quod
Cymae* Sibylla descripsit in quo praedixit futuris
seculis tempora meliora.

5 MAGNUS AB INTEGRO ab origine, de novo, ab initio,
denuo. hoc est, ut fuerunt bona, ita et nunc erunt.

6 VIRGO Iustitia inter rusticos morata, fugiens mores
hominum malos, in caelum abisse fertur et* nunc redisse.
VIRGO Iustitia quae decrevit propter hominum
conversations*; vel Terra*, quae nunc frugifera sicut
et tunc; vel secundum nos* Maria.

6 IAM REDIT ET VIRGO id est incorrupta
Iustitia, quae fugiens malos hominum mores in
caelum dicitur abisse. REDEUNT SATURNIA REGNA
quae credebantur aurea fuisse. quattuor etenim

4 argenteum *H*: argentum *B*.

4 Cymae: *H* *addidit* 'carmen'.

6 abisse fertur et *scripsit H*; abyssus serviret *B*.

6 conversations *B*: conversiones *coni. H*, et *add.* redire post quae.

6 Terra *H*: terrae *B*.

6 secundum nos *scripsit H* auxilio *cod. Leid.*: salmn; *B*.

secula dixerunt extitisse, id est aureum,
argenteum, aereum, ferreum. ergo aureum* dictum
est esse redditurum.

7 PROGENIES Saloninus vel Augustus vel Christus vel
Marcellus, Octaviae filius. CAELO a caelo vel de caelo,
quia volebat eum credi a diis genitum*, vel per hoc
Pollioni adolatur dum eum habere dicit honorem deorum.

7 IAM NOVA PROGENIES Salonium dicit, filium
Pollionis, qui multis cum prodigiis* natus esse
dicitur, et risisse statim, et locutus esse, et*
XX digitos in manibus habuisse*, et nono die
obisse, unde propter praesentia mala, cupiditate
temporum meliorum, coniciebat alium⁴ seculum
secuturum.

8 TU Diana. PUERO Phoebo vel Salonino. QUO FERREA
PRIMUM gens laboriosa, vel lex vetus, vel aemulos
Romanorum compescet puer.

8-10 TU MODO NASCENTI PUERO CASTA FAVE LUCINA
id est Salonio fave, Diana, quam nascentes pueros
in lucem educere putabant. QUO FERREA PRIMUM id
est desinit ferreum seculum ut oriatur aureum.

6 aureum *H*: aurum *B*.

7 genitum *H* (*ex C*): gentiu *B*.

7 prodigiis *Mueller*: pdignis *B*.

7 et: ex *B*.

7 habuisse: abuisse *B*.

4 ALIUM SECULUM. In the absence of evidence from
either of the Explanations, this solecistic form must be
allowed to stand. Hagen, understandably, writes aliud.

9 GENS AUREA Romani in deliciis, aut aurea
domus Romae, vel nova lex aurea.

9 DESINET cessabit.

10 LUCINA id est Diana, quae apud Latinos Lucina
dicitur, apud Graecos Ilithyia*. LUCINA dea quae
parturientibus lucem praebere dicitur, quae duas
lampades, duasque pupillas habere dicitur, quod
nascentibus pueris lucem perennem det, vel quod luci
praesit.

10 TUUS o Diana*. IAM REGNAT APOLLO quia
dixerunt Apollinem quandoque regnaturum, qui
frater Dianae putabatur vel per Apollinem Caesarem
vult intellegi.

11 TEQUE adolatur consulem.

11 TEQUE ADEO DECUS HOC ad Pollionem loquitur,
ac* si diceret, haec bona tuo consulatu
provenient. INIBIT incipiet*.

12 MAGNI longi, vel pro populis intellegendum
est lucida* opera quasi dies habentibus.

12 PROCEDERE venire. MAGNI MENSES duodecim qui ante
decem fuere, vel magni menses pro magnis populis.

13 TE DUCE te veniente, o Salonine. TE DUCE te prin-
cipe.

10 Ilithyia *H*: iathias *B*.

10 TUUS o Diana *H*: otuus diana *B*.

11 ac *H*: hae *B*.

11 incipiet *H*: incipit *B*.

12 lucida *H*: lucido *B*.

13 SCELERIS peccatorum. SCELERIS VESTIGIA prosc-
 criptiones sullanae* et caesarianae, vel corpus
 liberatum a peccatis significat, quia tempore
 Augusti Salvator venit. SCELERIS NOSTRI VESTIGIA
 mali mores, si quod est vestigium sceleris, unde
 est magna formido.

14 SOLVENT homines.

14 SOLVENT TERRAS id est si quod vestigium sceleris
 remansit, unde* est magna formido, solvetur. vel scelera
 pro bellis posuit, quae cessatura dicit. vel proscrip-
 tiones sullanas et caesarianas dicit esse solvendas, et
 hoc de Augusto vult intellegi. FORMIDINE Pollionis*.

15 ILLE Caesar*. DEUM VITAM ACCIPIET adfirmat Caesarem
 esse inmortalem.

15 ILLE DEUM VITAM ACCIPIET de Salonio dicit;
 deorum vitam habebit.

16 PERMIXTOS HEROAS potestates caelestes.

16 PERMIXTOS HEROAS quos dicebant deos de
 hominibus fieri.

17 PACATUMQUE REGET ORBEM si de Salonio, paterna
 virtute reget Salonas; si de Caesare* virtute Iulii
 reget terrarum orbe.

13 sullanae: syllane B.

14 unde *H*: inde B.

14 Pollionis B: belli civilis *bene coni. Citarelli*.

15 Caesar: caesa B.

17 Caesare: c... B: *editores omnes restaurant secundum sensum*.

17 REGET Octavianus orbem, Saloninus Dalmatas,
vel Caesar Romanos, vel Christus Christianos.
aliter, quia Iulius Caesar orbem terrarum pacasse
videtur, qui Augustum sororis suae filium in
heredem imperatoremque reliquit*.

[Folio 11r.]

18 AT TIBI PRIMA PUER ET RELIQUA id est tibi, Saloni,
inculta munus dabit*, vel nullo colente terra tibi munus-
cula sponte praebebit. MUNUSCULA apte* diminutive;
tamquam puero munuscula dicit.*

18 NULLO CULTU sine humano cultu, vel dona
magorum.⁵

19 ERRANTES PASSIM passim serpentes.

19 BACCARE genus herbae florisve iucundi odoris.

20 RIDENTI laeto vel patenti.

20 COLOCASIA herba aput Alexandrinos vastae*
radicis, cibo digna, et in Aegypto circa Nilum
nascitur. ACANTHO* herbae vel floris purpurei.

17 reliquit: reliquid B.

18 dabit *H*: dabo B.

18 apte: abte B.

18 MUNUSCULA...dicit: *haec omittit Mueller.*

20 Alexandrinos vastae *restaur. Mueller*: Alexandri....aste B.

20 ACANTHO: accentho B.

5 VEL DONA MAGORUM. Has this been dislocated from MUNUSCULA above? In the ms. it appears in the corresponding line of the opposite column, yet there is plenty of clear space above and below, so why would dislocation be necessary? Or does it properly belong with BLANDOS FLORES (23)? Cf. Expl. I, 'FUNDUNT FLORES idest ad Christum pertinet, quoniam magi obtulerunt ei munera'.

21 IPSAE REFERENT ipsae capellae per se ultro, non per pastores.

21 DISTENTA plena.

22 MAGNOS feroces.

22 NEC METUENT mansuescent enim. MAGNOS LEONES homines feroces.

23 BLANDOS FLORES non omnes blandos sed ex omnibus meliores. CUNABULA initia generis. cunabulum genus arboris, in quo pueri conantur molimina gressuum*.

24 OCCIDET abscondetur. FALLAX HERBA herba aconitana quae in Sardinia nascitur, quam si quis comederit, moritur; alibi autem nata, somnium* tantum hominibus facit.

24 OCCIDET ET SERPENS id est non orientur* noxiae pestes Assyrium et Serpens, signa nocifera in caelo, qui occidere dicuntur.

25 OCCIDET ASSYRIUM id est abscondetur nocivum Syrii sidus, vel Assyrium amomum ubique nascitur*.

25 VULGO ubique, passim, promiscue. AMOMUM genus floris* quod tantum in Parthia nascitur, quo amomum unguentum conficitur.

26 AT verum. SIMUL cum. HEROUM LAUDES Pollionis et Caesaris, vel duodecim libros Aeneidum.

23 gressuum *H*: gresuum *B*.

24 somnium *B*: *H* mavult somnum.

24 non orientur *bene coni. H*: mori&ur *B*.

25 nascitur *B*: nascetur *H*.

25 floris: flores *B*.

- 26 LAUDES HEROUM id est laudes Pollionis vel
Caesaris canere poteris, cum ad virilem togam
perveneris, vel scriptas* ab aliis legere.
- 27 LEGERE liqueat*⁶ canere. IAM LEGERE fuit* enim
Pollio nova carmina faciens velut Christus in templo.
- 28 PAULATIM sine studio hominum terra fructus reddet.
28 FLAVESCET omnia tibi dulcia.
- 29 RUBENS matura.
29 SENTIBUS UVA vineis, arbustis.
- 30 SUDABUNT effluent.
30 ROSCIDA MELLA quia mel ex rore colligitur,
aut quia cum rore de caelo cadit.
- 31 PAUCA TAMEN sive Gallorum sive Gothorum protur-
bationem prophetat, sed verius Parthicam, de qua portas
iam* clausas legimus duodecim annos.
31 PRISCAE VESTIGIA FRAUDIS antiquae discordiae,
astutiae hominum. PRISCAE FRAUDIS vetera bella,
raptusque coniugum, et perfidiae ospitum
remanebunt.
- 32 TEMPTARE pro* temptabunt. THETIM mare.

26 scriptas *H*: scripta *B*.
27 liqueat *B*: liceat *H*: *cf. ad 53 infra*.
27 fuit *B*: fecit *H*.
31 iam *B*: Iani *H*.
32 pro: *scriptum supra* qui *ab alt. man.*

6 LIQUEAT. It is tempting to see this word liqueat, in the light of its subsequent reappearance at 53 below, as representing some sort of dialectical peculiarity. Hagen and Mueller are probably right in interpreting it as liceat.

- 33 IUBEANT cogant.
- 34 ALTER alligorice Antonius.
- 34 TIPHYS* gubernator navis Argo, qui in Ponto cum superiore parte navis perisse dicitur in loco qui Symplegas* dicitur. ARGO navis aput Danaos, eiusdem Tiphys <gubernator>*.
- 35 DELECTOS HEROAS id est fortes viros. DELECTOS pro electis dixit, qui Argonautae dicti sunt et cum Iasone Colchos* profecti.
- 35 ALTERA BELLA imperii tui.
- 36 TROIAM Italiam vult intellegi per longiorem sensum, quia a Troianis est constituta. ACHILLES* Pyrrhus Epirota de genere Achillis*, vel Pyrrhus qui contra Romam dimicavit. alligorice Antonius.
- 36 AD TROIAM ad Asiam. ACHILLES de Augusto Caesare id est Octaviano dicit. Iulius enim Caesar, cum Octaviano per testamentum nomen suum et regnum tradidit, etiam Troiam eum iussit restaurare.
- 37 HINC UBI IAM FORMATA AETAS quasi tunc puer esset Augustus vel non natus ita dicit.

34 TIPHYS: typhis B.

34 Symplegas *H*: simplecas B.

34 Tiphys <gubernator>: tiphis B: gubernator *add. Mueller*.

35 Colchos: colcos B.

36 ACHILLES: achylles B.

36 Pyrrhus Epirota de genere Achillis, *H*: pyrrus epyrota de gerere cachillis B.

37 VIRUM TE FECERIT vel ad puerum Salonium
loquitur, quasi diceret ubi* adoleveris vel ubi
virilem togam sumpseris; vel ad Augustum, quasi
puer esset tunc Octavianus, sive non* natus esset
ita vaticinatur.

38 CEDET ET IPSE MARI VECTOR id est is qui merces vehit
dabit locum mari, nec necesse erit negotiari*, quia omnia
in omnibus terrae locis habundabunt. NEC NAUTICA PINUS*
non indiget navigare quia omnia ad te ferentur. pro
timore et pro honore regni eius haec omnia dicuntur.

38 CEDET ET IPSE MARI abstinebit mari, sponte
advenient. VECTOR pro vectores. vel CEDET omnia
tibi cedent quamvis primo putaveris bella.
NAUTICA PINUS nautarum* navis. omnia
habundabunt*.

39 MERCES pro mercedes. FERET* procreabit*.

40 RASTROS aratra, vel RASTROS quibus operiuntur grana.

40 NON VINEA FALCEM non amputabitur.

41 ROBUSTUS ARATOR TAURIS IUGA SOLVET propter ubertatem
terrae infatigabilis non iniciet se labori.⁷

37 ubi *H*: ibi *B*.

37 non *Mueller*: nus *B*.

38 negotiari: negociari *B*.

38 PINUS: pimus *B*: *cf.* nec nauti capimus *C*.

38 nautarum: nautorum *B*.

38 omnia habundabant: *Citarelli posuit haec post lemma sequens FERET*.

39 FERET: fert *B*.

39 procreabit: procreavit *man. I B*.

7 Hagen proposes preceding this note with a lemma ROBUSTUS QUOQUE ET RELIQUA, followed by the word Ordo. In other words he is willing to take considerable liberties with the text in order to assimilate it to his own idea of what a medieval commentary ought to look

[Folio 11v.]

42 VARIOS COLORES plagae enim signum aput gentiles creditur diversos colores in uno vellere esse.

42 MENTIRI fucata lana mentitur alios colores.

43 ARIES arietem pro omni pecore dicit et per arietem ceterum pecus vult intellegi.

43 SUAVE adverbium.

44 MURICE tintura purpurea*, vel rubra tintura, vel flos. CROCEO LUTO hyacintho* colore, vel genus floris.

44 CROCEO LUTO id est tintura crocei coloris. MUTABIT id est natura sua* ex alio in alium colorem. haec omnia pro habundantia rerum dicuntur.

45 SPONTE SUA nemine serente*; hyperbolice* loquitur.

45 SANDYX genus herbae rubeae, cuius radices infantes cum coxerint tabularum ceras ex eis tingunt*, unde et 'sandines' vel 'sandices' vestes dicuntur.

44 purpurea *H*: purpura *B*.

44 hyacintho *scripsi*: iacincto *B*: hyacinthio *H*.

44 natura sua *B*: naturam suam *coni. H*.

45 serente *C*: ferente *B*.

45 hyperbolice: yperbolice *B*.

45 tingunt *H*: tinguntur *B*.

like. The gloss as written in *B* does not place any particular stress on the matter of word order (which is in fact fairly simple), but Hagen would see that as the main issue. Surely this is cultural paternalism.

46 TALIA praedicta. TALIA SECLA SUIS id est dixerunt
concordes Parcae fuis suis, id est cum fuis suis haec
statuerunt, in quibus putabantur fata continere*.

47 PARCAE Parcae enim fata hominum per fusos*
suos exposuerunt, alia nendo, alia texendo, alia
rumpendo, ut Lucanus ait.⁸

48 ADGREDERE O Salonine.

48 ADGREDERE MAGNOS HONORES id est incipe
ascendere.

49 CARA DEUM SOBOLES deum pro deorum posuit. hoc vel
ad Saloninum puerum loquitur vel ad Octavianum, quos vult
a diis horiginem trahere.

49 MAGNUM IOVIS INCREMENTUM id est cui Iuppiter
magnum dederit incrementum, hoc est augmentum, aut
est incrementum Iovis, ut in numerum deorum acces-
serit.

49 IOVIS de gente eius. INCREMENTUM sive hominibus
sive diis.

50 CONVEXO vecto, rotundo, vexato.

50 NUTANTEM exultantem gaudio aut trementem sub
onere*.

51 TRACTUS latitudinem. PROFUNDUM excelsum.

52 LAETENTUR UT OMNIA laetatur mundus in adventu tuo.

46 continere B et H: contineri Mueller.

47 fusos: fusus B.

50 onere H: honore Mueller: honere B.

8 Hagen takes this as a reference to Lucan Pharsal.
iii.19.

53 O MIHI ET CETERA id est, 'o si mihi vitae spatium
esset sufficienter, tua facta canerem'.

53 VITAE quo vita mihi liqueat*.

55 NEC THRACIUS* ORPHEUS de Thracia, Calliopae Musae et
Oeagri* filius, qui tantum putatur cithara potuisse ut ab
inferis Eurydicen* coniugem revocaret. huic Orpheo mater
Calliopea.

56 NEC LINUS hic dicitur fuisse Apollinis et
Psamathis* filius, Thebis oriundus, qui cursum
solis lunaeque et omnium astrorum omniumque rerum
carmen scripsit versibus non infacundis*.

56 ATQUE HUIC Lino.

58 PAN ETIAM ARCADIA* ubi maxime colitur.

58 IUDICE iudicante. MECUM SI IUDICE CERTET
quae possit etiam victori* favere*.⁹

60 INCIPE PARVE PUER ET RELIQUA USQUE CUBILI EST horum
versuum, nisi <in>* nimis doctos inciderent*, facilis*
erat intellectus. profecto enim nihil aliud dicit quam

53 liqueat B: liceat H: cf. ad 27 supra.

55 THRACIUS: thrachius B.

55 Oeagri: oegri B.

55 Eurydicen: euridicen B.

56 Psamathis *scripsi*: psamatis B: Psamathes H. Cf. ad II.26 et VI.67.

56 infacundis H: infecundis B.

59 ARCADIA: archadia B.

58 victori *coni. Citarelli*: eius victoriae H: victor B: *alia coniect.* victo.

58 favere: fabere B.

60 <in> *add. H.*

60 inciderent H: incederent B: nimis docti incederent *coni. Mueller.*

60 facilis H: facile B.

9 Hagen (followed as often by Citarelli) numbers this
and the previous note 59.

hoc*: incipe puer parentibus iucundus esse et risu
cognoscere matrem. sed curiosi* aliud putant.

60 RISU COGNOSCERE quoniam sic videntur filii
parentes suos agnoscere, cum ultro eis adrident,
quod post quadragesimum* diem faciunt. sin vero
ante quadragesimum diem riserint, indicium mortis
est.

61 DECEM MENSES quia mares in decimo mense
nascuntur, feminae vero in nono.

62 CUI* NON RISERE PARENTES Iuppiter sine
concubitu dicitur de capite suo Minervam genuisse,
Iuno Vulcanum claudum, cui propter deformitatem
abiecto nec* Iuppiter illi nec Iuno adrisit. nec
epulis* eum Iuppiter accepit, nec Minervae
matrimonio copulatus est. loquitur autem ad
Salonium puerum ne, si parentibus non adriserit,
Vulcano similia patiatur. putabant autem ex
hominibus* duabus ex causis deos fieri: si aut
mensas cum diis habeant, aut uxores deas ducant*;
unde ait Aeolus Iunoni, 'tu das epulis accumbere
divum'¹⁰. proinde, nobilibus pueris editis, in

60 hoc *H*: ho *B*.

60 curiosi *H*: curios *B*.

60 quadragesimum: quadragisimum *B*.

62 CUI: cu *B*.

62 nec *H*: ne *B*.

62 epulis *Mueller*: epulas *B*.

62 ex hominibus *Mueller*: ex omnibus *B*.

62 ducant *H*: dicant *B*.

atrio domus Iunoni Lucinae lectus, Herculi mensa,
ponebatur. sive hoc vult dicere: incipe parve
puer iucundus esse et [et] agnoscere risu matrem,
quia qui parentes suos* non laetificaverant, vitae
fructum non receperunt, id est vitales non
fuerunt.

63 NEC DEUS HUNC MENSA, DEA NEC DIGNATA CUBILI EST
Iuppiter et Iuno, cum ex altercatione sine coitu filios
se debere suscipere <putarent>*, Iuppiter de capite
edidit Minervam, Iuno Vulcanum claudum. hic
praecipitatus de caelo arti fabrili operam dedit, fecit
sellam miram in qua, cum Iuno sedisset, dicitur haesisse.
quae cum rogaret ut solveretur, ille petit ut suos
parentes ostendisset. adrisisse* dicitur Iuno, unde ille
matrem agnovit. NEC DEUS ET RELIQUA hii* sunt qui
parentes suos non laetificaverunt, vitaeque fructum non
ceperunt, hoc est hi vitales* non fuerunt. tamquam deos
qui epulis et conubiis praesint*, sed hi parentes suos
adfligunt, quod Vulcano factum est; non enim Minervae
matrimonio copulatus est. NEC DEUS Iuppiter, quia de
convivio eum trusit, vel Hercules* de mensa sua. hoc

62 parentes suos *H*: parentesuo *B* secundum *H*, sed hodie solum 'parent....' legi potest.

63 <putarent> addiderunt *H* et Mueller.

63 adrisisse scripsi: at risisse *H*: ad risisse *B*. Cf. adriserit ad 62 supra.

63 hii *B*: hi *H*.

63 vitales *H*: itales *B*.

63 tamquam....praesint: *H* sensit lacunam post praesint et transposuit: sed hi parentes suos adfligunt tamquam deos qui epulis et conubiis praesint....quod Vulcano etc.

Lacunam his vel similibus suspicatur: 'unde nec epulis nec conubiis digni habentur.

63 Hercules: ercules *B*.

alligorice ad Saloninum refertur, quasi in convivio
deorum non esset, cum cito obisset. nonnulli ad
Christum. NEC DEUS quia epulis et conubiis deos praeesse
putaverunt. DEA Minerva, Iuno vel Venus, quia nuptias
Veneris petierat, sed ab illa contemptus est, id est
Vulcanus historialiter.

ECLOGUE V

In hac egloga pastor Menalcas regem pastorum
 Daphnim coram Mopso, contubernali pastore,
 historialiter* deflet. alligorice vero poeta
 Virgilius Flaccum fratrem suum coram Aemilio*
 poeta certe* amantissimo deflet; alii Saloninum;
 alii Iulium Caesarem. haec egloga epitaphion*
 dicitur. haec egloga proprie bucolicon dicitur.
 haec egloga in agro canitur, ut 'hic corylis
 mixtas inter consedimus ulmos'¹. haec egloga in
 Gallia canitur, ut 'montibus in nostris solus tibi
 certat Amyntas'². haec egloga inpari numero
 epigrammatum maxime gaudet.

Quidam autem [ad] hanc eglogam dicunt ad Saloninum
 pertinere. in hac egloga personae <II>* inducuntur. in
 hac egloga historia rustica* et alligorice civilis
 intuenda sunt*. in hac egloga nomina duorum pastorum

pastore historialiter: pastore istorialit B.

Aemilio: emelio B.

certe B: sibi D: Vergilii H.

epitaphion *scripsi*: epetaphion B: epitaphium H.

<II> *addidit* H.

historia rustica B: historialiter vita rustica *coni.* H.

intuenda sunt B: intimanda est H *fretus argum. Ecl. viii.*

1 Verse 3.

2 Verse 8.

inducuntur, quorum alter obitum fratris deflet et
 consecrat* eum. haec egloga in personas <duas>* divisa
 est, Virgilii scilicet et Aemilii
 Macri; fuit enim et ipse poeta Virgilio amantissimus,
 quia* 'Aemilius Macer, Veronensis poeta, in Asia
 moritur'. in hac egloga Virgilius quasi sub persona
 Menalcae loquitur, et Macer quasi sub persona Mopsi.
 [Folio 12r.]

Menalcas Virgilius hic intellegitur, qui obitum fratris
 sui Flacci deflet, <vel, ut alii volunt>*, interfectionem
 Iulii Caesaris. Mopsus vero Aemilius <Macer,
 Veronen>sis* poeta, amicus Virgilii amantissimus, qui et
 ipse poeta fuit accipitur.

Menalcas, Mopsus: hii* duo Daphnim flent.

1 BONI* ad cantandum docti, idonei. ordo est:
 cur non, Mopse, hic inter mixtas* corylis ulmos
 consedimus, quoniam boni convenimus ambo?

1 CUR NON id est non incipimus cantare; 'incipe' enim
 est infra³.

2 INFLARE intus flare.

et consecrat *Mueller*: consacrat B: alter sacrat *H*.

<duas> *addidit H*.

quia *omitt. H et add: Eusebius dicit (cf. Hier. Ol. 191.1, ad Ecl. iii.90, argum. ad Ecl. x, Reiff. Suet. Rel. p. 43, Ribbeck prol. p.195).*

vel ut alii volunt: *haec verba nunc fere evan. sunt, sed H et Citarelli sine difficultate ea legisse videntur.*

Macer Veronensis *ut supra*.

hii B: hi *H*.

1 BONI *H*: bini B.

1 mixtas *H*: mixtos B.

3 Verse 10.

3 CORYLIS corylus genus arboris.

3 CONSEDIMUS pro considimus*.

4 TU elige* locum, quia tibi parebo. MAIOR aetate.
AEQUUM* iustum. PARERE oboedire.

4 TU MAIOR sub persona Menalcae se vult
Virgilius intellegi, ut Mopsus eum maiorem et se
minorem pronuntiet*, Iunilius dicit.⁴

5 SUB INCERTAS sub divo, sub motu arborum
inconstantes.

5 SUB INCERTAS UMBRAS ZEPHYRIS MOTANTIBUS ex
ventorum enim flatu rami arborum commoventur et
umbras mobiles* faciunt.

6 SIVE ANTRO pro 'in antro'*, ut 'facilis descensus
Averno'⁵.

6 UT ANTRUM ubi Pan.

7 LABRUSCA vitis silvestris, labrusca dicta eo quod
labris adponitur, sive quod in labris ruris idest in
saepibus nascitur. in conparatione vineae

3 considimus: consedimus *mire* B.

4 elige: eligi B.

4 AEQUUM: equum B.

4 pronuntiet: pronunti& B.

5 mobiles *H*: nobiles B.

6 antro B: antrum *H*.

4 Cf. Expl. I: TU MAIOR TIBI idest ut, cum sub
persona Menalcae se velit intellegi poeta, Mopsus eum
maiorem pronuntiet. AEQUUM PARERE idest oboedire. Expl.
II: tu maior ut cum sub persona Menalcae se velit poeta
intellegi, Mopsus enim maiorem pronuntiet.

5 Aen. VI.126.

vituperabiliter dicitur, quando vero sola profertur
laudabiliter dicitur, Iunilius dicit.⁶

8 AMYNTAS Cornificius hic per ironiam* intellegitur.

8 AMYNTAS pastor. AMYNTAS alligorice
Cornificius, vel per ironiam dicitur. nemo enim
potest praeter se*.

9 PHOEBUM Apollinem vel te, o Virgili, fulgentem.

9 PHOEBUM SUPERARE idest non potuisset me
vincere vel potuisset vincere etiam Phoebum.*

10 PHYLLIDIS IGNES Phyllidis* amores. Phyllis
Sithonis* filia, regina Thracum, quae adamavit Demofonta,
filium Adrasti, qui cum Troiam expugnabat non poterat
amorem eius extinguere. illa impatienter eum desiderans
laqueo vitam finivit in arbore folia non habente.
reversus ergo Demofon ad illam arborem lacrimavit. illa
autem sensit amantis affectum et pro lacrimis folia
pullulavit, ex quo et Phyllis est vocata: Iunilius

8 ironiam: hyroniam B.

8 se: B (*et H*); eum *Citarelli*.

9 potuisset...Phoebum B: nonne potuisset H.: num potuisset ne vincere *Citarelli*.

10 Phyllidis B: Phyllides *nescio quomodo Citarelli*.

10 Sithonis H: githonis B.

6 Cf. Expl. I: LABRUSCA idest seadinne, silvestris
vitis: ideo, quod in labris ruris idest in saepibus
nascitur, vel uva agrestis dicta a labris idest a
marginibus # vinum nascitur, sive potest labrusca dici
eo, quod feratur labrusca labris in bibendo. Expl. II:
labrusca idest quod in labris ruris idest in sepibus
nascitur silvestris vitis.

dicit.⁷

10 PHYLLIDIS IGNES Phyllis* regina Thraciae*,
Sithonis* filia, Demofontem Adrasti vel Thesei*
filium redeuntem a Troia adamavit, qui iuxta
promissum non rediens, illa sibi mortem laqueo
adscivit. reversus est ergo Demofon ad arborem
illam foliis carentem et coepit lacrimare; illa
autem sensit amantis affectum et folia pullulavit
ex quo et Phyllis vocata est.

11 ALCONIS Alcon genere cretensis. Sagittarius nobilis
cum Dianae sacrificaret, filium suum ludo fatigatum et a
somno correptum draco complexus est quem librata sagitta
inlaeso puero transfixit et occiso dracone filium
incolumen* liberavit.

10 Sithonis: gythonis B: Lycurgi vel Sithonis H.

10 Phyllis: pyllis B.

10 Thraciae: trachiae B, *ut saepe*.

10 Adrasti vel Thesei *coni. H.*: adrastitesei B.

11 incolumen: incolomen B.

7 Cf. Expl. I: SI QUOS PHYLLIDIS idest Gitonis Thraciae fuit, quae Demophontem, filium Thesei, a Troia redeuntem adamavit, postquam Troiam pugnabat; qui cum dedisset ei fidem, se ad eam protinus perventurum, et tardius perveniret, impatienter eum desiderans laqueo vitam finivit ex arbore folia non habente. Reversus ergo Demophon venit ad arborem illam et coepit lacrimare. Illa autem sensit amantis affectum et pro lacrimis folia pullulavit, ex quo et Phyllis vocata est. Expl. II: aut Pillidis ignes idest Pill[id]is, regina Tracum, et adamavit Demofonta, Adrasti filium, qui cum adhuc ad Troiam pugnavit et non pervenit tempore quo promittebat ei pervenire ad eam, illa propter dolorem amoris laqueum pependit ex arbore folia non habente. illa illic vitam finivit. reversus ergo Demofon venit ad arborem illam et cepit lacrimare. arbor autem sensit amantis affectum et pro lacrimis folia pululavit, ex quo et Pill[id]is est vocata.

11 ALCONIS Alcon peritissimus sagittariorum iter
agens puerum aspexit a serpente circumflexum* et
direxit sagittam puero intacto* serpentem
occidit*, Iunilius dicit.⁸

CODRI Codrus Atheniensium dux, cum inter
Lacedaemonios* et Athenienses bella gerebantur et
nullo modo poterant conpesci, accepto responso
Apollinis eorum fore victoriam quorum rex hostium
manu cecidisset, et ex quacumque acie princeps
fuisset occisus illam et vincere, cum ergo nemo
auderet principem occidere, Codrus iste servili et
rustico* habitu quasi unus pabulatorum ad hostes
veniens tanta iurgia ingessit ut mortem mereretur.
sic ergo ab eis occisus suis victoriam praebuit.

12 TITYRUS HAEDOS* pastor, quia quisquis haedos vel
oves pascit 'Tityrus' dicitur. SERVABIT* TITYRUS HAEDOS
non te retinebit hoc.

11 circumflexum: circumplexum *H* et alii.

11 intacto *H*: intacti *B*.

11 occidit *H*: accidit *B*, *sed corr. alt. man.*

11 Lacedaemonios: lacedonios *B*.

11 rustico *Mueller*: rustici *B*.

12 HAEDOS: aedos *B*.

12 SERVABIT: servavit *Citarelli*.

8 Cf. Expl. I: AUT ALCONIS HABES LAUDES idest Alcon
genere fuit Cretensis, sagittarius nobilis; cum Dianae
rem divinam faceret, filium eius in templo fatigatum lusu
somnus obpressit; qui cum vidisset filium suum a dracone
conlevatum, occiso dracone filium suum incolumem
liberavit. Expl. II: aut Alconis idest Alcon peritis-
simus sagittariorum iter agens puerum aspexit a serpente
circumflexum. direxit sagittam et puero intacto
serpentem occidit.

13 IN CORTICE FAGI antiqui carmina in cortice* scribebant, quia carta non erat.

14 MODULANS modos* componens carminum.

15 EXPERIAR dicam.

15 AMYNTAS Cornificius.

16 LENTA flexibilis. SALIX PALLENTI CEDIT OLIVAE quia salix similia folia habet olivae et paene* similes sunt salix et oliva.

17 PUNICEIS* rubeis. SALIUNCA genus herbae florem minutum gerens suavissimi odoris, Iunilius dicit.⁹

17 ROSETIS a rosa, ut 'rubentes rosas'¹⁰

19 DESINE dicere. SUCCESSIMUS intravimus.

19 SUCCESSIMUS ANTRO hoc est* colloquium; nunc luctus incipit.

20 CRUDELI FUNERE saeva morte. crudele funus est vivis parentibus mori. vel de Caesare dicit qui XX tribus plagis in curia confossus est. DAPHNIM Daphnis eximiae formae* rex pastorum et non diu vixit. alii alligorice luctum Salonini relatum dicunt, sed magis epitaphium

13 cortice: coruce B.

14 modos B: modo *sine ratione Citarelli*.

16 paene: poene B.

17 PUNICEIS: pumiceis *Citarelli*.

19 hoc est: hoc e B: hucusque *coni. H.*

20 formae: fomae B.

9 Cf. Expl. I: SALIUNCA idest genus herbae florem minutam gerens suavissimi odoris.

10 Aen. XII.68.

fratris intelligimus, et Virgilius specie Daphnidis fratrem suum Flaccum nomine deflet, quamvis alii de Iulio Caesare dicunt, Iunilius dicit.¹¹

20 DAPHNIS Daphnis pastor. hic, cum amaret Caedinam¹² Nympham* et fidem ei dedisset, expertem se omnium feminarum praeter* eam iuravit, et in quandam nympham lapsus est et ob hoc peiurium luminibus* orbatus* est. carminis tamen meruit scientiam et venerabilis inter pastores fuit pro carmine, Iunilius dicit.¹³ DAPHNIM Daphnis Mercuri et Hersae* filius in Sicilia pastor

20 Nympham: nimpham B, *ut saepe*.

20 'fore' ante praeter addidit H.

20 luminibus H *fretus Expl. I et II*: luminis B.

20 orbatus: urbatus B.

20 Hersae: herse B.

11 Cf. Expl. I: EXTINCTUM CRUDELI FUNERE. Funus dicitur crudele vivis parentibus. Alii luctum Salonini, nonnulli Flacci fratris eius putant. Daphnis, Mercuri filius, pastor eximiae formae fuisse dicitur. Hic dilectus a Nympha Lyca, cui fidem se dedit nullius mulieris alterius concubitu usurum, sed fefellit, ob quod orbatus est luminibus, quam caecitatem licet carminibus et fistula solaretur, non tamen diu vixit. Expl. II: extinctum idest fratrem suum vel Saloninum vel Caesar. Daphnin idest Mercurii et Herse filius, pastor forme eximie fuisse dicitur. hic dilectus a nympha Lica vel Edina, qui fidem dedit se nullius mulieris alterius concubitu ussurum, sed fefellit, ob quod orbatus est luminibus. sed tamen licet carminibus et fistola solaretur, non tam diu vixit.

12 Caedinam: Servius and Filargirius apparently favour the name Lyca. Explanatio II gives us a choice: 'hic dilectus a nympha Lica vel Edina'.

13 See previous note.

eximiae formae fuisse dicitur, sub cuius nomine
vel Flaccum, germanum suum, vel Iulium deflet.

21 FLEBANT lamentabantur. VOS estis. CORYLI*
ET FLUMINA populum et senatores appellat;
notandum tamen quod feminino* nomine et neutro
respondit dicendo 'testes coryli et flumina'.

22 CUM COMPLEXA SUI si de Flacco dicit, Maiae
matris eius mentionem facit qua* superstite
mortuus est; si de Caesare, matrem* eius vult
intellegi.

22 COMPLEXA CORPUS superstite enim Maia matre Flaccus
defunctus est, quae eius mortem graviter ferens non diu
supervixit, Iunilius dicit.¹⁴

22 MISERABILE miseratione* dignum.

23 ASTRA CRUELIA per quae hominum fata moveri atque
impleri vel mutari putabant; sane dicendo 'crudelia'
etiam deos, quod masculinum nomen est, conclusit.

24 NONULLI¹⁵ pastores nonnulli*. NON ullus* erat qui
pecora Daphnidis pasceret, vel nullus gregem proprium*
pro luctu requirit, vel ipsa pecora pro maerore pascere
nolunt.

21 CORYLI: coryrili B.

21 feminino *H*: femino B.

22 qua *H*: quae B.

22 matrem *H*: marem B et Mueller.

22 miseratione *H*: miserationem B.

24 NONULLI...nonnulli *scripsi*: NONNULLI...nonnulli B: NON ULLI pastores nulli
H.

24 NON ullus *scripsi cum Mueller*: non nullus B: nullus *H* (et *C*).

24 proprium: propriam Mueller!

14 Cf. Expl. I: COMPLEXA SUI CORPUS et reliqua.
Superstite enim Maia matre defunctus est Flaccus, quae

24 NONNULLI versus XIII syllabarum. nullus
 cogit pecus suum propter planctum; pecora* ipsa
 non pascebant se pro taedio. EGERE egerunt;
 ago, egi.¹⁶

[Folio 12v.]

25 DAPHNI vocativus casus* est.

26 LIBAVIT gustavit vel leviter ore attigit.

26 GRAMINIS* campi.

27 POENOS crudelis. POENOS LEONES idest africanos vel
 Cartaginenses vult intellegi Iulium flevisse.

27 LEONES pro montibus in quibus sunt leones.

24 'vel' ante pecora addidit H.

25 casus: *cas* B: *omitt. Citarelli*.

26 GRAMINIS: *gramminis* B.

graviter mortem eius ferens non diu supervixit. Expl.
II: complexa sui corpus reliqua idest superstita enim
 Maa matre defunctus est Flaccus, que graviter mortem eius
 ferens non diu supervixit.

15 NONNULLI...nullus erat. All the editors - Mueller,
 Hagen and Citarelli - understandably tinker with this
 phrase. The Virgil text itself (in the central column)
 has nonnulli, yet the glosses consistently read nonnulli
 in both columns, as if the distinction were simply not
 understood. No doubt this was the case; we are thus
 dealing simply with the very common phenomenon of a
 double consonant - complicated in this instance by the
 fact that the duplication obscures the meaning. In my
 view the scribe intended nonnulli to mean 'no/nobody',
 but it is clearly wise to 'normalize' the spelling in a
 modern edition.

16 If one accepts the view that these scholia elucidate
 Virgil's text on several levels and from numerous
 sources, this gloss is surely representative of the very
 lowest and most basic level of exposition. Here the
 master is giving himself a shorthand note: 'remember to
 remind them of the difference between agere and egere'.

28 INTERITUM mortem Iulii Caesaris. INTERITUM non optime morte iam merita interitus dicitur, Iunilius dicit.¹⁷

28 MONTESQUE FERI* praerupti, vel in quibus sunt ferae*, vel si de Iulio accipis, feros montes eius interfectores, silvas Romanum populum intellege.

29 DAPHNIS* deest 'nam'. ARMENIAS reliquias Liberi patris quae Iulius deduxit de Armenia ad Romam. CURRU pro 'curru', idest inmanes enim et feros* homines docuit religione*.

29 ARMENIAS TIGRES vel quia inter pastores Daphnis primus tigres domuit, vel alligorice de Iulio intellege*, quod Armenias tigres, idest feras gentes, perdomuit. TIGRES bestias. non primus quia alius* tigres* domuit sed inter pastores primus, Iunilius dicit.*¹⁸

28 FERI: fieri B.

28 ferae: fere B.

29 DAPHNIS: paphnis B.

29 feros: fero B.

29 religione B et H: religionem Mueller.

29 intellege H: intellegi B.

29 alius *scripsit* H: alios B.

29 tigres: tigros B.

29 non primus...Iunilius dicit: H post lemma sequens transposuit.

17 Expl. I: INTERITUM MONTES idest non obitum, idest ne morte iam merita videretur extinctus.

18 Cf. Expl. I: DAPHNIS ET ARMENIAS. Sacra Liberi Patris Iulius duxit de Armenia ad Romam. CURRU idest curru. TIGRIS idest flumen orientale, et bestiae convenit. Inmanes enim et feros homines docuit ab Augusto domari. Expl. II: curru idest pro curru posuit. subiungere tigres idest inmites et feras gentes vel sacra Liberi patris. Iulius duxit de Armenia ad Romam.

30 INSTITUIT invenit. DAPHNIS THIASOS Iulius enim reliquias Liberi patris et sacra Romae adduxit. THIASOS hastas variis sertis indutas quibus bacchae idest mulieres debacchantes* in sacris Liberi patris utebantur. hoc genus ludi more certantium.* BACCHI THIASOS* coetus virginum vel puerorum bacchantium plangentibus nymphis.

30 item THIASOS saltationes. sunt enim thiasi coetus virginum atque puerorum bacchantium* plangentibus nymphis. BACCHI Liberi patris, qui postquam libabat* vinum bacchabatur.¹⁹

31 INTEXERE inligare, innectere.

34 TUIS parentibus sis propitius tuis.

TULERUNT abstulerunt.

35 PALES dea frugum vel pabulorum, vel dea pastoralis ut putabant.

36 GRANDIA SAEPE QUIBUS morte Flacci vel Iulii universa mutata sunt adeo ut sterilitas* fieret.

30 debacchantes: dibachantes B.

30 THIASOS hastas...certantium: *Citarelli negligens omittit.*

30 BACCHI THIASOS *scripsit H:* bachintia B. *Auctorem huius scholii thyrsos pro thiasos legisse putat H.*

30 bacchantium: bacantiu B.

30 libabat *scripsi:* libebat B: bibebat *H et Citarelli.*

36 sterilitas: stelelitas B.

19 LIBABAT. I prefer to keep this reading, against most previous editors and other wise advice. Cf. ad Ecl. II.70 and V.26 above, where the word appears to mean little more than 'drink'. I think, too, that the principle of 'lectio difficilior' adds weight to this judgement. But cf. Expl. I: BACCHI idest Liberi Patris, quia bacchabatur vinum bibens.

37 INFELIX sterile, ut e contrario 'felix' fecundum.

LOLIUM zyzaniam.

37 INFELIX LOLIUM quia qui lolium manducant
caecitatem patiuntur. AVENAE herba messibus
nociva.

38 MOLLI purpurea.

38 PURPUREO pulchro. NARCISSO puer in florem
conversus.

39 CARDUUS ET SPINIS SURGIT PALIURUS* ACUTIS
sensus est: post obitum Daphnidis (idest Flacci)
omnia quae fecunda erant sterilia* sunt, Iunilius
dicit.²⁰

39 PALIURUS herba spinosa*.

40 SPARGITE HUMUM FOLIIS genus planctus* est, hoc est
desuper folia congregare, vel humum super folia spargi
dicit.

40 INDUCITE idem* tegite circumflexis vel
circumfixis arboribus.

39 PALIURUS B *in textu Virgilii*: palliurus H, *et in glossis marginalibus*.

39 H 'facta' post sterilia posuit.

39 spinosa H: spinosa B.

40 planctus H: plactus B: plexus Citarelli.

40 idem B: idest H et Citarelli.

20 Cf. Expl. I: PALIURUS idest gleelce vel aiten idest infelix et acutus arboribus... [40] Sensus hic est: post obitum Daphnidis, quae erant fecunda, sterilia extiterunt. Expl. II: palliurus idest gleelge [presumably Old Irish "white thorn"].

- 41 MANDAT FIERI SIBI* Daphnis carmen post
mortem.
- 41 TALIA funesta.
- 42 ADDITE superscribite.
- 42 CARMEN epitaphium, hoc est eulogio super-
scribite duos versus* sequentes.
- 43 DAPHNIS EGO ET RELIQUA sit scriptum supra tumulum.
haec alligorice Iulio conveniunt vel Flacco.
- 43 IN SILVIS in silvis positus. HINC USQUE AD
SIDERA NOTUS ut alibi 'fama super aethera*
notus'²¹, aut quia deus, aut quia futurus erat,
Iunilius dicit.²² AD SIDERA NOTUS quia deus
futurus existimabatur*.
- 44 FORMOSI PECORIS Romani populi. si ad Caesarem
referas, hoc dicit: 'boni populi optimus imperator'.
- 44 semper* epigrammata* amant, ut 'Aeneas haec
de Danaïs'²³.

41 MANDAT FIERI SIBI *Citarelli consideravit lemma falsum esse; carmen post mortem ad 42 transposuit.*

42 versus: versos B.

43 aethera: h&hera B.

43 existimabatur: exestimabatur B.

44 semper B: Ellipsin *H schol. Veron. fretus.*

44 epigrammata: epigramata B.

21 Aen. I.370.

22 Cf. Expl. I: IN SILVIS idest positus. DAPHNIS EGO rel. Carmen hoc super tumulo fuit et epitaphium vel # defectionis apud veteres. Expl. II: in silvis idest positus.

23 Aen. III.288.

45 TALE* dulce.

46 IN GRAMINE in campo.

47 RESTINGUERE infinitivo modo.

47 SALIENTE scatente*.

48 CALAMIS scriptis.

48 AEQUIPERAS quo aequaris*, adsimulas.

AEQUIPERAS* accusativo casu et ablativo servit.

VOCE cantu. MAGISTRUM Theocritum; alligorice
dicit Virgilius de Theocrito.

[Folio 13r.]

49 FORTUNATE honorem coeptum servat.

49 ALTER AB ILLO secundus a Theocrito.

50 NOSTRA carmina.

51 TOLLEMUS AD ASTRA inmortalem faciemus.

53 MAIUS melius.

54 ET PUER ISTE FUIT modo Daphnis vel Flaccus, non
Iulius.

55 STIMICHO poeta vel pastor. et ipse puer fuit*.
figuravit nomen Echo Nymphae resonando.

55 STIMICHO quasi stimulante* Echo.

56 CANDIDUS pulcher. INSUETUM aut sibi aut hominibus.
aut insuetum hominibus caeli viam.

45 TALE *H*: tela *B*.

47 scatente *H*: scantente *B*.

48 quo aequaris *Mueller*: quo equaris *B*: coaequaris *H*.

48 AEQUIPERAS: equiparas *B*.

55 ante et...fuit, verbum 'Ordo' inseruit *H*.

55 stimulante: stumulante *B*.

56 LIMEN OLYMPI* ianuam caeli, vel limen pro
templo posuit.

57 DAPHNIS Iulius.

58 ALACRES sine laceratione, iucundas.

58 ET CETERA RURA VOLUPTAS adiuvat caelo.

59 PANAQUE PASTORESQUE TENET [tenet] delectat, ut 'nos
lectio tenet'.²⁴ DRYADAS nymphas inter arbores
habitantes.

59 DRYADAS nymphas agrestes*.

60 NEC* LUPUS INSIDIAS sensus est: omnia bona
sunt adiutorio eius.

60 NEC LUPUS INSIDIAS securitatem dicit.

61 MEDITANTUR praeparant. OTIA pacifica.

62 IPSI idest [idest] Menalcae intellege hanc vocem
colles et silvas dedisse respondentes.

62 IACTANT laudant.

63 INTONSI MONTES metaforice intacti, umbrosi*,
nemorosi, silvestres; vel montes pro habitatoribus.

64 DEUS, DEUS ILLE, MENALCA* hic quaestio ab imperitis
Virgilio obicitur, qui confundi personam hoc loco a poeta
arbitrantur. duos enim inducit pastores in principio
huius egloge alternis cantantes, Mopsum et Menalcam, unde

56 OLYMPI: olimphi B.

59 agrestes H: egrestes B.

60 NEC: ne B, *sicut in glossa sequente*.

63 umbrosi H: umbros B.

64 MENALCA: manalca B.

24 The gentle and self-deprecatory sarcasm of a country
schoolmaster?

cum* 'Mopsus'* dicere debuit, 'Menalca' suum nomen dixit.
sed qui diligentius sensum horum versuum adtenderit,
'ipsi laetitia voces' intellegit* hanc vocem colles et
silvas dedisse respondentes Menalcae cantanti 'deus, deus
ille Menalca'. Iunilius dicit.²⁵

64 DEUS, DEUS ILLE MENALCA idest cantanti*
Menalcae montes et silvae haec respondebant. ILLE
Daphnis scilicet.

65 SIS BONUS idest propitius, ut ibi 'Adsit laetitiae
et Bacchus* dator et bona Iuno'²⁶. FELIXQUE TUIS quo
superius occupaverat memor*.

65 FELIX feliciter usus. QUATTUOR ARAS arae
enim hominibus ponuntur, diis tantum* altaria.

66 DUAS TIBI DAPHNI semper inpar numerus ad superos
pertinet, par autem ad inferos sive mortuos homines.

66 PHOEBO Apollini, idest sic tibi ut Phoebos*
vota feremus.

64 cum H: eum B.

64 Mopsus: Mopse H: Mopsum *Mueller et Citarelli*.

64 intellegit: intelliget B.

64 cantanti H: cantandi B.

65 Bacchus: baccus B.

65 quo superius occupaverat memor B: quos opertus occupaverat memor *Mueller*:
quos superius occupaverat maeror H.

65 tantum B: tamen H: *Mueller om.*

66 Phoebos: phebo B, ut *saepe*.

25 Both Explanations are silent at this point.

26 Aen. I.734.

67 VINA pro vinea, vel vina pro bina. NOVO recenti.
LACTE quia et caseus* lac dicitur ideo dixit 'novo' vel*
recenti.

68 CRATERASQUE DUO* idest duo sextaria; quoniam
duas aras consecrat, eleganter adiunxit duas*
crateras, Iunilius dicit.²⁷

68 Fit* crater et cratera.

68 OLIVI pro olei, quia tantum Minervae oleum*
consecratur.

69 BACCHO vino.

70 SI FRIGUS ERIT si hiemps fuerit. SI MESSIS
si aestas.

71 NOVUM magnum. CALATHIS calicibus. CALATHIS genus
poculi, hoc est fialis* in angustum sursum collectis.
ARIUSIA Ariusium* vinum Chium* significat ex Graecia quod
est optimum. NECTAR dulcedo saporis.

71 ARIUSIA oppidum Italiae ubi Picenum vinum
nascitur, vel vina Ariusia* quae sunt novum
nectar; vel Ariusia promuntorium est Chii*

67 caseus: caseos B.

67 vel B: idest *scripsit* H.

68 DUO *scripsi*, quia stat in textu Virgilii, cum 's' ab alt. man. superscripta; sed
duos in margine: duos H.

68 duas B: duos *Mueller*.

68 H addit lemma CRATERASQUE ante fit.

68 oleum B: olivum *scripsit* H.

71 fialis: fialas B.

71 Ariusium H: ariusum B.

71 Chium *Mueller*: ciori B.

71 Ariusia: ariusa B.

71 Chii: chi B.

27 Cf. Expl. I: OLIVI idest quia tantum Minervae oleum
consecratur.

insulae; vel Ariusia* Lesbium vinum, ubi portus
Ariusius in insula Lesbo est; vel Chio monte qui
est in insula Chio.

72 DAMOETAS alligorice Virgilius. AEGON
alligorice Pollio.

72 LYCTIUS* Cretensis a Lycto* urbe Cretae, Iunilius
dicit.²⁸

[Folio 13v.]

73 SALTANTES ad mobilitatem corporis pertinet.

73 SATYROS pueros vel homines silvestres.
sensus est: sic laeti sicque saltantes erimus,
quasi* satyri simus. ALPHESIBOEUS quidam pastor,
vel alligorice Cornelius* Gallus quem invenisse
boves significat, eum sibi restituuisse agrum.

74 SOLEMNIA dona sunt quae certis diebus
celebrantur.

74 SOLEMNIA VOTA anniversaria sacra quae certis diebus
celebrantur propter fetus. cenarum* autem genera tria
sunt: unum ut dixi²⁹ solemne; aliut viaticum, cum ad

71 Ariusia: aruisia B.

72 LYCTIUS: lictius B.

72 Lycto *H*: licta B.

73 quasi *H*: quas B.

73 Cornelius: cornilius B, *ut saepe*.

74 cenarum: caenarum B.

28 Cf. Expl. II: lictius cretensis ut ibi Lictius
Idomeneius ab Licto, urbe Crete. Expl. I has an
identical note.

29 DIXI. Another personal comment: for a summary of
these, see the earlier footnote on III.82.

cenam convocentur*; tertium geniale, quod genio nostro indulgemus.

75 LUSTRABIMUS purgabimus, unde et ambarvalis dicitur hostia* ab ambiendo arva. idest* purificabimus sacrificiis.

76 DUM IUGA MONTIS APER hic ad tempus, alibi enim in perpetuum ut 'in freta dum fluvii currunt, dum montibus umbrae' 30.*

77 THYMO* genus virgulti florentis.

77 DUM RORE donec ros est. CICADAE vermes.

78 HONOS honor. HONOS in sacrificiis, NOMEN in praedicatione, LAUDES in meritis.

79 BACCHO Libero patri.

79 UT BACCHO CERERIQUE sic tibi Daphnidi quasi tertio deo. Cereri autem propter aridos, Libero propter humidos fructus, Daphnidi propter pecudum* proventus, Iunilius dicit. 31

74 convocentur B (et H): convocemur *Citarelli*.

75 ambarvalis dicitur hostia H: arvambalis dicitur ostia B.

75 idest: ante hoc verbum H lemma LUSTRABIMUS iteravit.

76 DUM IUGA...umbrae: Dum Iuga Montis Aper. 'Dum' hic in perpetuum, ut 'in freta dum fluvii currunt, dum montibus umbrae'. alibi enim ad tempus. H.

77 THYMO: thimo B.

79 pecudum *Mueller*: peculum B.

30 Aen. I.607.

31 Cf. Expl. I: UT BACCHO idest Libero Patri. CERERIQUE idest Deae Terrae, quae eadem est et Proserpina, eadem est et Vesta.

80 DAMNABIS alligabis; 'damnatus addictus et absolutus', ut Agroecius dicit.³² TO QUOQUE VOTIS vota tua multi adorabunt. TU QUOQUE VOTIS discessio* hic.

80 DAMNABIS devoces* votis, reos facies, condemnabis et reos votorum facies. hoc est alios damnabis non sacrificantes, vel superabis alios deos sacrificiis* tuis: Gaudentius dicit.

81 QUAE* TIBI ut ibi 'quae digna pro laudibus istius*',³³ Iunilius dicit.³⁴

82 VENIENTIS SIBILUS AUSTRI molliter et leniter venientis*.

82 NEQUE ME iuvat.

83 PERCUSSA leni strepitu. IUVANT delectant.

84 SAXOSAS quoniam iucundus auditur sonus, quoties aqua prosiliens* saxis impeditur.

80 discessio: discissio B.

80 devoces B: devincies *coni.* H.

80 sacrificiis: sacrificis B.

81 QUAE: quiae B.

81 istius B: istis H.

82 venientis: venientes B.

84 prosiliens H: prosaliens B.

32 For the reference see Keil, Grammatici Latini VII. 120.10.

33 Aen. IX.252.

34 Cf. Expl. I: DAMNABIS idest fusilisu idest reos facies, ut vota tua multi adorent. Expl. II: damnabis idest contemnabis et reos factorum facies, si non reddant tibi vota. Note that these glosses show a connection with that ascribed to Gaudentius at v. 80, rather than to Iunilius.

85 HAC TE NOS ante hoc* te carmine donabimus bucolico.
FRAGILI CICUTA hoc est carmen bucolicon. HAC cum qua de
ovibus pastoribusque cantavi. HAC* TE NOS ad memoriam
iucundae contentionis alter alterum muneravit*. hic duas
illas eglogas superiores dicit. DONABIMUS alligorice
Octavianum. CICUTA carmine bucolico.

86 ARDEBAT ALEXIM sic te diligimus.

87 DOCUIT cecinit, idest illa cicuta tibi dabitur in
qua illud expressum est carmen: 'dic mihi Damoeta' et
reliqua.

88 PEDUM baculum incurvatum quo pedes ovium
praepediuntur. PEDUM accusativus casus tantum
invenitur.

88 PEDUM aliam laudem quam nulli alii volebam
dare.

88-9 QUOD* ME CUM SAEPE ROGARET NON TULIT
ANTIGENES ET ERAT TUM DIGNUS AMARI idest quod
munus, puer cum esset Cornificius vel Antonius
speciosus, et cum concupisceret non inpetravit,
quamvis ob aetatem* dignus esset.

89 ANTIGENES quidam pastor, alligorice Cornificius vel
Antonius.

85 hoc *Mueller*: hac B: ac C.

85 HAC *H*: ac B.

85 muneravit *scripsit Mueller*: numeravit B.

88-9 QUOD *H*: quid B.

88-9 aetatem: aetate B.

90 PARIBUS NODIS pari intervallo distantibus, aut
aequalibus, Iunilius dicit.³⁵ MENALCA Daphni idest
Octaviane.

35 Cf. Expl. I: PARIBUS NODIS obid, idest pari inter-
vallo distantibus aut aequalibus.

ECLOGUE VI

In hac ecloga historialiter notandum pastores ad senem quendam, idest Silenum, isse et eum sciscitasse antiquas fabulas variasque mundi series, quod alligorice significat amicos* vel socios Pollionis et Vari Virgilium postulasse bucolica. quanto magis Pollio et Varus postulaverunt, qui amici Virgilii erant. haec egloga in honore Vari scripta est et Pollionis. in hac egloga solus poeta loquitur.

In hac ecloga ostenditur quod primo Virgilius Aeneidos adgressus est scribere, sed Augusti rogatu humillima idest bucolica conscripsit, ut est 'cum canerem reges' et reliqua¹. alii dicunt hanc eglogam principium esse Bucolicorum. haec egloga non proprie bucolicon dicitur. haec egloga quasi in Sicilia canitur, ut 'prima Syracusio' et reliqua², et in urbe canitur. in hac egloga Virgilius se Silenum fingit, #quia canebat*; Chromem* et Mnasyllum* Pollionem et Varum; et

amicos: amico B.
 quia canebat B: qui cavebat *coni. H.*
 Chromem: cromem B.
 Mnasyllum: mnasilu B.

1 Verse 3.

2 Verse 1.

Scyllam* vel Cornelium et Tuccam, qui vinctum
quasi* postulabant esse aiunt*#.

Fauni et Sileni et Satyri: haec animalia sunt et alas*
habent et prius vermes sunt, qui in lignis nascuntur (ut
aiunt) et postmodum petulca animalia fiunt. Faunorum:
hoc est antiquorum Sicanorum, vel genus Fauni patris*
Latini, sed genera daemoniorum a quibusdam creduntur.
alii vero tria genera pastorum in Italia fuisse dicunt
antiquitus: 'fauni' <a> Fauno pastore qui et deus dicti,
Leonimus* dicit; 'fauni' a fando dicti;³ 'sileni' a
Sileno poeta; 'satyri' a Satyro pastore. hisque
omnibus haec egloga modulabilis est, quia de mirabilibus
divum suorum haec dearum* sacramentis loquitur.*

Faunorum et reliqua: quia de diis dicit quos his
nominibus* pro inhabitabilitate*⁴ vel feritate ab
hominibus disiunctis* vocat. Faunorum: antiqua

Scyllam *Mueller Servio fretus*: sillam B: *H omittit* et sillam.

Inter quasi et postulabant H supplevit 'Silenum bucolica'.

esse aiunt *bene con.* H: efficiunt B.

alas: halas B.

patris: pastoris *con.* H.

Leonimus B: Leonymus H: Leoninus *Mueller*.

divum...dearum: diversorum et diversarum *con.* *Funaioli*.

Totam hanc sententiam ab integro H restauravit: 'Fauni a fando dicti. Leonymus eo libro quo de mirabilibus diversorum deorum ac dearum sacramentis loquitur, dicit: "Fauni a Fauno pastore, qui et deus, dicti, Sileni a Sileno poeta, Satyri a Satyro pastore".

his nominibus: *H transposuit ante vocat*.

inhabitabilitate B: inhabili qualitate *con.* H.

disiunctis H: deseunctis B.

3 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* VIII. 87 for the same derivation. The identity of Leonimus is not clear.

4 INHABITABILITATE. This is one of those cruces which takes us to the heart of the question. To Hagen the word is unacceptable, being outlandish and unattested: his emendation is, as usual, intelligent and elegant.

genera pastorum in Italia, idest antiquorum
Sicanorum* nomina; vel socii Pollionis et Vari,
qui bucolicam postulaverunt.

1 PRIMA non* quia primus bucolica Latina scrip-
serit, sed hoc ait: 'prima haec me voluit Thalia*
conscribere mox et alia facturum'; vel laudative.
PRIMA idest principalia ideo quia Syracosio versu
scribuntur, qui versus praecellit, quia Theocritus
Syracusanus fuit qui primatum obtinuit apud
Latinos.

1 SYRACUSIO pro Syracusano: proprium pro appellativo
posuit. Syracusano* autem* debuit dicere a Syracusis,
civitate Siciliae, sed poetice* figura usus Syracusio
dixit. Syracusae* urbs Theocriti in Sicilia, quia hic
Syracusanus auctor bucolicon fuit. DIGNATA EST digno et
dignor. LUDERE eleganter* ait ludere, carmen iucundum
et remissum et minime triste describens.

2 NOSTRA idest Itala, Romana.

Sicanorum: siccanorum B.

1 non *Mueller et Funaioli*: cum B.

1 Thalia: talia B.

1 Syracusano: syracusono B.

1 autem: enim H.

1 poetice: poetica *velit* H.

1 Syracusae: siracuse B.

1 eleganter: eliganter B.

Yet the word is a perfectly possible coinage and there are no grounds whatever for excluding it because it is not found in classical literature. It certainly is an awkward word, but good taste cannot be admitted as a criterion.

2 NOSTRA Musa namque poetarum. NEQUE ERUBUIT
SILVAS HABITARE idest bucolica scribere. THALIA
nomen proprium Musae vel Musa silvestris.

3 CUM CANEREM ET RELIQUA hoc est cum canere
vellem, ut ibi 'et terruit Auster euntes'⁵ pro
'ire* volentes'. eleganter declaratur hoc versu
Virgilius ante hoc carmen coeptus* Aeneidos libros
habuisse in honorem regum Romanorum, et proposito
amisso*, Augusti imperio minora potius carmina
scripsit*, Iunilius Flagrius dicit.⁶ AUREM
VELLIT aurem a meis carminibus abstulit, vel AUREM
VELLIT idest aurem mihi tetigit.

3 CUM CANEREM REGES idest cum canere vellem reges
Romanorum sive Albanorum, vel vellem Aeneidos scribere.
CYNTHIUS* Apollo, a Cyntho monte qui in Delo insula est.
sic appellatus alligorige Augustus qui se rogavit*
bucolica scribere; eum per Apollinem pro honore eius
vult intellegi.

3 ire: hire B.

3 coeptus: ceptus B: coeptos *Mueller*.

3 amisso: omissio *H et Citarelli*.

3 scripsit B: scripsisse *H suspicatur*.

3 CYNTHIUS: cyntius B.

3 se rogavit B (*et H*): sibi erogavit *Citarelli*!

5 Aen. II.111.

6 Cf. Expl. I: CUM CANEREM REGES idest cum canere
vellem, ut 'terrui Auster euntis' pro ire volentes.
Declaratque se Aeneidos libros incipere velle ante.

Expl. II: cum canerem reges idest cum canere vellem
'terrui Auster euntis' pro 'ire volentes'. declaratque
se Aeneidos libros incipere velle ante.

4 TITYRE o Virgili.

[Folio 14r.]

4 ET ADMONUIT PASTOREM de se dicit.

5 PASCERE OPORTET OVES ad illud refert, quod coepisset Albanorum reges* et bella describere Virgilius sed territus insuavitate carminis desistit*, Iunilius dicit.⁷ DEDUCTUM in oblivionem ductum renovare.* DEDUCTUM* subtile, tenue, iucundum*. DICERE subtiliter canere.

5 PASCERE OPORTET OVES idest bucolica scribere.* CARMEN bucolica.

6 ERUNT habundabunt.

6 LAUDES bucolica.

7 VARE Varus consul fuit qui praepositus est ab Augusto divisioni agrorum et idcirco* ei a Virgilio adolatur, quique Romanis Germaniam domuit. TUAS CONDERE historias scribere Vari.

7 VARE quia Varus consul Germanos Romanis domuit*. victo enim Antonio Caesar Varum in loco Pollionis substituit, qui praeesset* Transpadanae*

5 reges *H*: seges *B*.

5 desistit: desisset *coni. H*.

5 DEDUCTUM...renovare *om. Citarelli*.

5 DEDUCTUM: *post hoc verbum Citarelli add. 'dicere'*.

5 iucundum: *ieiunum scripsit sine explanatione H (et Citarelli)*.

5 PASCERE...scribere: *om. Citarelli*.

7 idcirco: idarco *B*.

7 domuit: domuic *B*.

7 praeesset: *pesse B*.

7 Transpadanae: transpadane *B*.

7 Cf. Expl. I: DEDUCTUM idest in oblivionem ductum renovare vel tenue et iucundum. Expl. II: deductum idest tenue et iocundum.

regioni, cui idcirco Virgilius adolatur. ET
TRISTIA BELLA Ausonium bellum.

8 AGRESTEM MUSAM* carmen bucolicum.

8 AGRESTEM scriptura bucolicorum. HARUNDINE scriptura quae est per calamum.

9 NON INIUSSA CANO vel a Musis vel a Varo, idest non cano quae prohibitus sum aut certe cano quae iussum*: ut enim adgrederetur Georgica scribere petit Augustus.

9 NON INIUSSA* idest bucolica. HAEC QUOQUE SI
QUIS idest etiam in his invenies laudem, o Vare.

10 CAPTUS AMORE adolatur in omnibus Varum.

10 VARE alligorice Caesar. MYRICAE virgultum humile cui eglogas suas et carmina sua comparat.

11 TE NEMUS nemus vobis* cantantibus resonabit; vel pro his qui in nemore sunt. NEC PHOEBEO GRATIOR nulla est, idest Apollini vel alligorice Augusto non est gratior pagina quam quae de Varo loquitur. fuit autem Varus condiscipulus Virgilii, quem fraterno* amore dilexit.

11 CANET respondit*. NEC PHOEBEO GRATIOR* idest Apollini vel Augusto, ut audiat vel suas vel consulis* sui laudes.

8 MUSAM: musa B.
9 iussum: iussa *Mueller*: iussus sum *H*.
9 INIUSSA: iussa B.
11 vobis B: nobis *H*.
11 fraterno: fraternu B.
11 respondit B: respondebit *H*.
11 GRATIOR: gratio B.
11 consulis *H*: consuli B.

12 Hucusque praefatio.

13 PERGITE dicite, perseverate; hortatur* Musas vel invocat Musas et sic incipit canere. PIERIDES Musae ut quidam navi* volunt, dictae quasi 'piae heredes', et 'pierides' corrupte dicitur*. CHROMIS ET MNASYLLUS Silenorum et Satyrorum nomina; hos pro condiscipulis Virgilii accipere debemus, Varro scilicet et Tucca, qui poetam quasi Silenum petierunt scribere bucolica. SILENUM poeta se facit Silenum, Chromin et Mnasyllum* Varum et Pollionem, vel Cornelium et* Tuccam, qui quasi vinctum carmen sibi bucolicum pangere postulabant.

13 CHROMIS ET MNASYLLUS IN ANTRO pastorum nomina qui Fauni et Satyri dicuntur propter solitariam et agrestem vitam, qui Silenum adorti sunt ut carmen excierent*. alligorice condiscipuli Virgilii intelleguntur Varus et Tucca, qui Virgilium petierunt quasi Silenum carmen bucolicon scribere. IN ANTRO dormientem in angustia* gravatum.

14 SILENUM idest vetus* quidam, qui rogatus a Virgilio exposuit ei Cosmopoeiam*. ut dicunt* quidam, Panos filius vel Terrae vel Thaumantis*,

13 hortatur: ortatur B.

13 navi *scripsi secundum Mueller*; navis B: vanius H: navius *Citarelli*.

13 dicitur: dictae *Mueller*.

13 Mnasyllum: mnasilus B.

13 et *om. Citarelli*.

13 excierent *scripsit H*: exierent B: audirent *Mueller*.

13 in angustia B: vino gustato H.

14 vetus: *H suspicatur vates*.

14 Cosmopoeiam: cosmopeiam B.

14 dicunt *H*: dicant B.

14 Thaumantis: taumantis B.

comitis* Liberi patris, vel ipse comes Liberi
patris.

15 INFLATUM VENAS figurate dixit pro inflatas venas
habentem, ut 'nuda genu'⁸. UT SEMPER tota die bibebat.

15 IACCHO vino, ebrium vino*; idest* tempestate
antiqua vel Iacchus* vel* Liber pater dicitur.

16 SERTA CAPITI DELAPSA IACEBANT certa* idest coronae
ei ceciderant* de capite suo, pro ebrietate autem
'sertum' corona de floribus. PROCUL prope*.

16 SERTA PROCUL ET RELIQUA alligorice vult poeta
intellegi honorem suum exilio minoratum esse.

17 ET GRAVIS ATTRITA eleganter ebriosum ostendit.
ATTRITA frequenti potu*. CANTHARUS vas non grande quo
merum datur.

17 ATTRITA ex usu tenendi splendens. craterem*
dicit vas in quo datur merum*. CANTHARUS vasis*
species, idest pictum vas cum pigmentis.

14 comitis *H*: commetis *B*.
15 vino *om.* *H*.
15 idest: *lemma* IACCHO *H. ante hoc iterat.*
15 Iacchus: iaccus *B*.
15 vel: *add.* *H*.
16 certa *H*: ferta *B*.
16 ceciderant *H*: ceciderat *B*.
16 prope *B*: pro prope *scripsit H.*
17 potu *H*: poto *B*.
17 craterem: CANTHARUM *H*.
17 merum *H*: mesum *B*.
17 vasis: vasi *B*.

CANTHARUS alligorice quidam volunt Hieriam*,
Maecenatis ancillam, quae dicitur ingeniosa*
fuisse, quidam Varri* amicam.

18 SENEX pro senes. AMBO pro ambos, hos ambo.
sic et Homerus*, Iunilius dicit.⁹

19 LUSERAT dum carmina repromittit. INICIUNT nectere
incipiunt.

19 IPSIS EX VINCULA SERTIS sensus* est: ex
ipsis sertis vincula iniciunt; ligationes de lino
tenero factae 'serta' dicuntur.

20 TIMIDIS pro timentibus; natura enim 'timidi'
sumus, 'timentes' metu interveniente.

20 AEGLE una Nympharum vel amica.

20 AEGLE alligorice Roma, quae illum blanda manu
mulcebat.

21 NAIADUM dearum vel nympharum quae in fontibus sunt.

21 IAMQUE VIDENTI Sileno. VIDENTI pro
vigilanti; videre incipienti.

22 SANGUINEIS MORIS sanguineum colorem habentibus.

17 Hieriam: *H. putat Plotiam Hieriam in Donati Vita Virgilii commemoratam: ieram*
B: Hieram Mueller, qui add. 'intellegi'.

17 ingeniosa B: vinosa *H ('canthari nomen Hieriae inditum non tam ad*
ingeniositatem, quam ad vinositatem respexisse cogitari potest nisi nos fallit
epitomator.')

17 Varri: Vari pro Varri *H. susp.*

18 sic et Homerus: sicut ait Verrius con. *H; cf. ad Ecl. VIII.30, et vide H. praef.*
ad Scholia Bernensia, cap. X. 5.

19 sensus B: ordo *H. sine mss. auctoritate.*

9 Cf. Expl. I: ADGRESSI idest sunt. SENEX idest pro
senes. CARMINIS idest promissionis. AMBO idest hos
ambos. Sic ostendit et Homerus.

- 22 MORIS nomen oleris rubicundi coloris, quo
vultus unguntur, idest blandimenta Nympharum.
- 23 ILLE Silenus*, quem se vult intellegi Virgilius.
DOLUM faciebant enim timidum* gressum solliciti ne ante
videantur*.
- 23 QUO quare. NECTITIS obligatis.
- 24 SATIS EST sufficit ad poenam. SATIS EST
POTUISSE VIDERI idest alligatum me vel levem a
praesentibus videri.
- 25 CARMINA VOBIS deest 'dabo'.
- 25 CARMINA QUAE VULTIS COGNOSCITE propter quae
alligastis carmina discite.
- 25-6 CARMINA VOBIS HUIC ALIUD MERCEDIS ERIT vos quidem
carmina, mulier vero capiet pro suo sexu munera;
venerariam voluntatem* significat; vel alligorice 'huic
Aeglae', idest Romae vel Mantuae.
- 26 ALIUD idest Georgica.
- 26 HUIC idest mulieri. HUIC ALIUD MERCEDIS
ERIT si de Nympha vel amica dicit, stuprum
intellege; si de Roma, Georgicon carmen*. vel
'erit' dicendo per sillemsin* etiam superiora
conclussit. SIMUL INCIPIT IPSE ipse Silenus;
eleganter perseverat ut describat amantem senem.

23 Silenus: silenos B.

23 timidum *Mueller*: tumidum B.

23 videantur: vdeantur B, cum i supra ab alt. man. pos.

25-6 voluntatem: voluptatem *coni. H.*

26 carmen: camen B.

26 sillemsin *scripsi*: silem sin B: syllepsin *H.*

27 TUM VERO persona cantoris dicit. TUM VERO nunc venit ad modulationem. TUM VERO ad certam modulationem.¹⁰ FAUNOS deos pastorales vel homines silvestres; alligorice discipulos.

27 IN NUMERUM adverbium est, vel pro 'innumeros', vel in versuum mensuram, sive ad certam modulationem.

[Folio 14v.]

28 TUM RIGIDAS* inflexibiles. MOTARE movere. MOTARE CACUMINA QUERCUS idest motatae sunt silvae.

28 TUM RIGIDAS ET RELIQUA alligorice vult omnia dura mollescere*; vel Caesarem et consules intellege.

29 NEC TANTUM ET RELIQUA quantum haec loca mirantur Sileni tantum.

29 PARNASIA Parnasus* mons Boeotiae vel Thessaliae Apollini et Libero consecratus.

30 RHODOPE mons Thraciae vel mons in Macedonia* Apollini consecratus habens duo promontoria, Cyrrham* Apollini, Mysam* Libero patri.

28 RIGIDAS *H*: rigida B.
 28 mollescere: molliscere B.
 29 Parnasus *H*: parnasius B.
 30 Macedonia: machedonia B.
 30 Cyrrham: cyrra B.
 30 Mysam: misa B.

10 TUM VERO...TUM VERO...TUM VERO. A fine and clear example of three 'strands' of commentary being included, one after the other, without any attempt at integration.

30 RHODOPE* ET ISMARUS montes Thraciae, vel
Ismarus mons Macedoniae. ORPHEA accusativus
graecus est.

31 NAMQUE CANEBAT secundum epicureorum sectam ex
solidis et atomis constare caelum et perituum putat.
INANE quod putant mundi materiam*. COACTA collecta,
coniuncta.

31 NAMQUE CANEBAT inducit poeta Silenum ea, quae
ab aliis investigata fuerant, tractantem seque
Silenum videri vult. PER INANE vel chaos* magnum
dicit, quod philosophi dicunt esse* materiam
omnium rerum, in quo omnia confusionem habebant et
sine forma erant: hoc est aerem, aquam, ignem,
terram, quattuor elementa* naturae*. INANE*
idest omnium rerum materiam, quia ipsam in semi-
nibus esse adfirmat ex atomis; epicurius* enim
fuit.

32 SEMINA elementa* vel atomi. ANIMAE aeris.
artificiose sapientium dogmata per personam pueri*
retractantur. MARIS aquae.

30 RHODOPE: rodope B.

31 materiam: matheria B.

31 chaos: caos B.

31 esse: *om. Citarelli.*

31 elementa: elimenta B.

31 naturae: natura B.

31 INANE *H:* meae B.

31 epicurius *scripsi:* epicorius B: epicureus *H.*

32 elementa *H:* alimenta B.

32 per personam pueri *scripsi:* per persona pueri B: personi Sileni *H.*

32-3 TERRARUMQUE ANIMAEQUE MARISQUE FUISSENT ET
LIQUIDI SIMUL IGNIS quattuor elementa* dicit ex
atomis collecta et coniuncta, sed alii Oceanum
volunt* patrem esse rerum omnium.

33 LIQUIDI idest puri. LIQUIDI IGNIS speciem caeli
quae in sideribus est.

33 UT HIS EXORDIA PRIMIS hic anastropa est*.
EXORDIA principia, vel UT HIS EXORDIA PRIMIS
primis principiis; nam* ex his omnia principiis
ex quibus omnia sunt.

34 TENER recens natus. MUNDI CONCREVERIT ORBIS
saeculum sine materia. alii dicunt omnia inprimis ex
aqua et igni creari, alii ex Oceano matre* omnium.

34 CONCREVERIT ORBIS conglobatus sit aer
submotis nubibus et in altum collocatis*.

35 DURARE pro durescere. SOLUM* sed melius nominativo
legi*, vel DURARE durum fieri. SOLUM terrae.

35 DISCLUDERE terram a mari* separare. NEREA
animalia; vel deus maris, ut putant; vel NEREA
dea filia Neptuni.

36 COEPERIT proprium statum accipere. haec omnia de
initio rerum sub Sileno indicat.

32-3 elementa: elimenta B.

32-3 volunt *bis* B.

33 anastropa est: anstrophae B.

33 nam *H*: nun *B*: non *corr. alt. man.*

34 matre: materie *coni. H.*

34 submotis...collocatis: *transposuit Funaioli ad v. 38.*

35 *H. lacunam post SOLUM sensit.*

35 legi: legitur *coni. Mueller.*

35 mari *H*: maris *B.*

- 36 SUMERE FORMAS species varias.
- 37 IAMQUE NOVUM* ante non visum, idest anafora*.
TERRAE STUPEANT hoc est homines qui in terris sunt.
- 37 SOL stellae, luna, fulgura*.
- 38 ALTIUS ET RELIQUA caelum enim quasi aqua congelata
est, aut primitus visum aut ante non visum*.
- 38 SUMMOTIS sursum motis.
- 39 SURGERE crescere, ut ibi 'surgentem in cornua
cervum'¹¹, Iunilius dicit.¹²
- 40 RARA primum facta.
- 41 HINC subauditur 'canebat', cui verbo omnia
posteriora iunguntur. LAPIDES PYRRHAE IACTOS
Deucalione* Thessalo fugiente diluvium* in montem
Parnasum* cum Pyrrha*, dea Terrae vel filia Terrae,
factum est ut lapides iactarent in terram. lapides quos
Deucalion iactavit in masculos versi sunt, lapides vero
quos Pyrrha in feminas, hinc genus humanum, vel hinc
'lapides Pyrrhae iactos', Gaudentius dicit. Themis dea

37 NOVUM *H*: novo *B*.

37 anafora *B*: anaphora *H*.

37 fulgura: fulgora *B*.

38 aut primitus...non visum: *H. supra post lemma NOVUM posuit.*

41 Deucalione: deocalione *ut saepe B.*

41 diluvium: dilivium *B.*

41 Parnasum: pharnasū *B.*

41 Pyrrha: pyrrae *B.*

11 Aen. X.725.

12 Cf. Expl. I: SURGERE idest crescere. Expl. II:
surgere idest crescere.

iustissima petentibus propter raritatem hominum responsum
dedit ut ossa matris suae* Terrae post* tergum posita
tollerent. illi cum pervidissent Terram omnium
<matrem>*, lapides tulerunt* et in aquam iactaverunt, et
hinc homines nati sunt.

41 LAPIDES PYRRHAE IACTOS Iuppiter, ut putant,
ut hominum scelera vindicaret, diluvium in terris
effudisse* mentitur* et, omnibus deletis,
Deucalion (Hellenis* filius) et uxor eius Pyrrha
(Epimethei* filia) in monte Parnaso evaserunt
ignemque* fecerunt, ut nocte face uterentur. sed
reputans Deucalion* eo* facto Iovem posse offendi,
ut prius commento igneo Prometheus ostenderat*,
ignem extinxit*. ob hoc miseratus Iuppiter per
Mercurium monuit post se lapides iacerent nec
respicerent, qui in homines dicuntur mutati.
Idem dicitur et Themis fecisse. SATURNIA REGNA

41 suae: sive conī. *H* et uncis circumscripsit, quia 'sive Terrae' glossema apertum esse censuit.

41 post: pos B.

41 matrem *addidi*: matrem esse *Mueller*.

41 tulerunt: tullerunt B: sustulerunt *Mueller*.

41 effudisse: effundisse B.

41 mentitur: *H* memoratur vel mentionatur conī.

41 Hellenis *H*: helinis B.

41 Epimethei *H*: pymethel B.

41 ignemque: ignemqui B.

41 Deucalion: deocaleon B.

41 eo *H* sed et 'igni' suspicatus: io B.

41 ostenderat: offenderat conī. *H*.

41 extinxit: extincxit B.

sine ordine posuit: ante enim 'Saturnia regna' et sic* 'Pyrrhae', 'furtumque Promethei'. SATURNIA REGNA quae perhibentur aurea fuisse.

42 CAUCASIAS Caucasus mons Scythiae. REFERT Silenus. VOLUCRES pro aquila. FURTUM ignis. PROMETHEI Prometheus, Iapeti filius, dicitur per sollertiam ignem a fulmine ferula* furatus* esse et hominibus dedisse. eum Iuppiter in Caucaso monte Scythiae catenis religasse et aquilam sive vulturem ei adposuisse ut iecur* eius exederet, quod semper dicitur renasci semperque lacerari.

42 Caucasus mons Armeniae vel mons Scythiae ubi Prometheus* ligatus ab aquila consumitur, propter quod ignem de caelo furtim abstulit*, et ideo ab Iove condemnatus in montem Caucasum* per consumptionem iecoris* interiit, quod semper renovatum et semper laceratum poenam aeternam facit. Prometheus et Epimetheus* Iapeti* filii fuisse dicuntur.

43 HIS ADIUNGIT HYLAN* Hercules* cum Argonautis navigans reficiendi remi causa in silvam

41 sic: tunc *coni.* H.

42 ferula: ferola B.

42 furatus: fugatus *Citarelli.*

42 iecur: iecor B.

42 Prometheus H: prometheos B.

42 abstulit: abtulit B.

42 Caucasum H: caucasio B.

42 iecoris: hiecoris B.

42 Epimetheus H: epimetheu B.

42 Iapeti H: iapetii B.

43 HYLAN: Hylam *Citarelli.*

43 Hercules: herculis B.

processit, quem comitatus est Hylas, Theodamantis*
 filius. sed dum Hercules optatam arborem quaerit,
 puer aquandi gratia ad fontem venit Cetei
 fluminis*, qui a Nymphis adamatus et raptus est;
 vel sicut alii volunt, in eodem* fonte praeceps
 lapsus et necatus* est, quem cum diutius*
 clamitans quaerit ab Argonautis relictus
 Prometheum solvisse dicitur.

43 ADIUNGIT canit. HYLAN filius Theodamantis*. HYLAN
 comes Herculis et cum Argonautis navigans navi excidens
 interiit. quidam eum dicunt ad puteum isse* vel
 <fontem>* Caici venisse atque ibi praecipitatum
 interisse, quem fingunt a* Nymphis adamatum* atque
 raptum. RELICTUM perditum vel ablatum iuxta Attum*
 civitatem Moesiae*.

44 UT LITUS* HYL A HYL A OMNE SONARET quaerenti
 Herculi vel a Nymphis adamatus quaeritur.

45 ARMENTA forsan viri.

46 PASIPHAEN* Minos rex Cretae. Pasiphae uxor eius
 adamavit Iovem.

43 Theodamantis *H*: theodaphnidis *B*.
 43 Cetei fluminis *H*: celei fulminis *B*.
 43 eodem: edem *B* cum o *supra* e ab *alt. man.*
 43 necatus *H*: negatus *B*.
 43 diutius: diucius *B*.
 43 Theodamantis: thimodemantis *B*.
 43 isse *coni. Mueller: ee B*: Moesiae *scripsit H*.
 43 fontem *coni. H*.
 43 a *H*: ei *B*.
 43 adamatum *H*: adamantum *B*.
 43 Attum *H*: actū *B*.
 43 Moesiae *H*: madosiae *B*.
 44 LITUS: lytus *B*.
 46 PASIPHAEN: passiphaen *B*.

46 PASIPHAEN Pasiphae uxor Minois taurum illum
quem Neptunus Minoi dederat adamavit, cum quo
artificio Daedali concubuit ac* Minotaurum*
hominem mixtum bovi genuit.

46 NIVEI* candidi. SOLATUR Silenus solatur idest canit
solatium. AMORE pro amore quo flagravat Pasiphae.*
IUVENCI tauri vel Iovis.

47 A idest O, interiectio dolentis vel mirantis. VIRGO
antiqui fortes mulieres virgines dicebant, sic et
Virgilius virginem pro muliere posuit more suo. VIRGO
virili* specie, vel fortes mulieres virgines dicebantur,
eo quod viris similes essent.

48 PROETIDES IMPLERUNT Proetides Proeti* regis
Argivorum filiae* de Sthenoboea* uxore eius:
Chrysippe* vel Lysippe*, Iphinoe* vel Epinoe,
Iphianassa* Iunoni formam suam praetulerunt et
insania compulsae crediderunt se esse boves et
petierunt altos montes et postea sanatae sunt a*

46 ac: hac B.

46 minotaurum *om. Citarelli.*

46 NIVEI: nevei B.

46 AMORE...Pasiphae *ordinem mutavi:* quo flagravat Pasiphae amore pro amore B.

47 virili *H:* viridi B.

48 Proeti *H:* proethi B.

48 filiae *H:* filia B.

48 Sthenoboea *H:* stinobio B.

48 Chrysippe *H:* crissippe B.

48 Lysippe *H:* hissippe B.

48 Iphinoe *H:* ifinoe B.

48 Iphianassa *H:* ifianasia B: *post hoc H* 'vel Cyrianassa' posuit.

48 sunt a *H:* ra B.

Melampode Leosthenis* filio, Iunilius et
Gaudentius* dicit.¹³

51 IN LEVI in molli.

51 QUAESISSENT CORNUA FRONTE quia per dementia
cornua sibi inesse credebant.

[Folio 15r.]

52 A VIRGO o uxor fortis. TU idest Pasiphae.

53 ILLE Iuppiter vel taurus.

53 NIVEUM candidum. FULTUS substratus.

HYACINTHO genus herbae. FULTUS HYACINTHO* fultum
latus hyacintho habens.

54 RUMINAT taurus.

55 AUT ALIQUAM idest vaccam. AUT ALIQUAM sui oblitus
generis sequitur vaccam.

48 Leosthenis *H*: leustonis *B*: *post hoc H add.* 'vel Amythaonis'.

48 Gaudentius: laudentius *B*.

53 HYACINTHO...HYACINTHO: hiacintho...hiacincto *B*.

13 Cf. Expl. I: PROETIDES idest Proeti et Antiae filiae, quae formam suam Iunoni praetulerunt, quas Iuno in vaccas convertit, et filiae regis Argorum fuerunt nomine Chrysippe, Iphinoe, Iphianassa; insania compulsae crediderunt se boves esse et altos montes petierunt. FALSIS MUGITIBUS idest quia transfiguratae erant. Expl. II: Proetides idest Prothei regis argorum filiae, quae sunt Crosipe, Esinoe, Ephianosa. Iunoni formam suam protulerunt. insania compulse crediderunt se boves esse et altos montes petierunt.

IUNILIUS ET GAUDENTIUS DICIT. This would seem to be a very authoritative gloss, but the scribe apparently did not recognize the name of Gaudentius and DICIT, of course, is singular.

55 CLAUDITE NYMPHAE apostrofe*. CLAUDITE idest
hanc inpuentiam defendite. IAM CLAUDITE SALTUS
ut inveniatur taurus, vel CLAUDITE ne videatur
vestigium mulieris taurum sequentis. Iuppiter
vero per artem magicam egit ut concuberet¹⁴ cum
matre Minotauri.

56 DICTAEAE* Cretensis*, vel DICTAEAE a Dictaeo monte
quoniam* de monte nemoroso.

57 SESE per* se.

58 ERRABUNDA Homerus stabula errabunda aut errantis aut
vagantis* dixit, aut proprie, quoniam non in directum
pedem tollunt, idest felix pedibus*.

58 BOVIS VESTIGIA tauri.

59 CAPTUM delectatum, ut ipse capitur locis.

60 GORTYNIA* Gortyna* cretensis civitas ubi
putabatur Solis fuissent* armenta.

55 apostrofe *scripsi*: apostrophe *H*: apostrofa *B*.

56 DICTAEAE *H*: dicte *B*.

56 Cretensis: cretenses *H*.

56 quoniam *Mueller*: qñ *B*: quasi *H*.

57 per: pro *H*.

58 errantis aut vagantis: errantia aut vagantia *H*.

58 felix pedibus: flexis pedibus *Citarelli*: helix pedibus *Mueller*: Φειλίποδας βούς
H.

60 GORTYNIA: gortinia *B*.

60 Gortyna: gortina *B*.

60 fuissent *B*: fuisse *Mueller*.

14 CONCUBERET. I have chosen to keep this form in spite of the fact that the other editors have amended it to CONCUMBERET. Was a word CONCUBERE, without the nasal infix, in use at the time the commentaries were constructed, and is it therefore a legitimate manifestation of contemporary Latin? Judgement in such questions must always be subjective, but in my view there are insufficient grounds to adjust the text.

60 Gortina civitas Cretae ubi armenta Solis fiebant*.
 61 TUM CANIT HESPERIDUM* Hesperides Atlantis* filiae,
 qui Hesperus* alio nomine dicitur, quae hortum* patris
 trans Oceanum, in quo mala aurea erant, custodiebant;
 unde Hippomenes*, Megarei* filius, tria a Venere accepit,
 quibus pellexit eas*. HESPERIDUM Atalanten* Schoenei*
 filiam significat quae, dum cursu viros provocaret, ab
 Hippomene* superata est. dum mala aurea ab Hippomene
 iactata admirata colligit, praeventa est.

61 TUM CANIT HESPERIDUM idest Atalante*, cum
 omnes viros cursu praeiret et mala aurea luderet,
 et* ita concubitus virorum fugiebat. sed postea
 adamata est ab Hippomene*, Megarei* filio, Neptuni
 nepote, superata ab illo, qui tria mala a Venere
 accepit*. MIRATAM MALA PUELLAM hic participium
 activum* agit, quia more Graecorum apud* veteres

60 fiebant: fingeantur *H*: fuerant *Citarelli*.

61 HESPERIDUM: esperidum *B*.

61 Atlantis: atlantis *B*.

61 Hesperus: hisperus *B*.

61 hortum: ortum *B*.

61 Hippomenes *H*: hypomenes *B*.

61 Megarei *H*: magaris *B*.

61 eas: Atalanten *scripsit H*.

61 Atalanten *H*: athlanten *B*.

61 Schoenei *H*: cinei *B*.

61 Hippomene: ypomene *B*.

61 Atalante *H*: athlante *B*.

61 et: *om. H*.

61 Hippomene *H*: ipomene *B*.

61 Megarei *H*: megares *B*.

61 accepit: accipit *B*.

61 activum *recte H*: passivum *B*.

61 apud: apt *B*.

agunt, ut Flaccus adiuvat*. Item: Atalante
Schoenei* filia cursus certamine #ter misurum
vicit#*.

62 TUM PHAETHONTIADAS idest sorores Phaethontis* casum
fratris plangentes conversae sunt in arbores, hoc est in
populos.

62 TUM PHAETHONTIADAS* ET CETERA Phaethon* cum
incertae originis argueretur, petit a patre Sole
ut uno die equos eius regeret et ad testimonium
generis sui, quod cum vix inpetrasset, per
ignorantiam lapsus in Eridanum* flumen cecidit,
cuius obitum dum sorores deflerent*, in populos
arbores dicuntur esse mutatae, quae a fratre
Phaethonte Phaethontiadēs* appellatae sunt, harum
mater Clymene* Nympha fuisse dicitur.

MUSCO herba quae circa caudices* arborum nascitur bene
olens, vel muscus nomen herbae nascentis in cortice vel
in pariete, ut Flavianus ait.

CIRCUMDAT circumdatas musco canit; muscus est
lanugo quae in corticibus arborum nascitur.

61 adiuvat: adnotat *corr.* *H.*

61 Atalante Schoenei *H.*: adlentes coenei *B.*: Atalante *Citarelli*.

61 ter misurum vicit *B.*: tres viros vicit *H.*: tria mala collegit *Citarelli*.

62 Phaethontis: phaetontis *B.*

62 PHAETHONTIADAS: phoetontiadēs *B.*

62 Phaethon: pho&on *B.*

62 Eridanum *H.*: eridianu *B.*

62 deflerent *corr.* *H.*: dum florent *B.*

62 Phaethontiadēs *H.*: pho&ontiadēs *B.*

62 Clymene *H.*: climene *B.*

62 caudices *H.*: caudaes *B.*

AMARAE pro amari. Filius Solis, qui cum se non crederet
 filium Solis, petit a patre suo ut currus regeret. hic
 postea praeceps missus est in Padum fluvium vel in
 Eridanum*, ut alii, ac cignus nominatus est, quen flentes
 sorores suae in populos mutatae sunt.* CIRCUMDAT
 circumdatas et contextas musco canit.

63 PROCERAS altas, sursum erectas*. ERIGIT erectas
 canit. ALNOS pro populis*.

64 TUM CANIT ERRANTEM GALLUM Gallus*. ERRANTEM dicunt
 illum errasse in monte et a Nymphis inventum*, et mira
 illic vidisse, et accepisse* cantandi potestatem.
 alligorice Cornelium Gallum poetam* cuius eglogarum libri
 leguntur.

64 PERMESSI Permessus fluvius Boeotiae* vel
 Aetoliae ubi aliquamdiu moratus est Cornelius
 Gallus; vel Permessus promontorium.

65 AONAS alii leguntur* codices habentes Musas*, idest
 novem Musas. alii Boeotiae montes* Helicon* et

62 Eridanum *H*: aridanum *B*.

62 Filius Solis...in populos mutatae sunt: *H. huc transposuit e v.64 sinist., lemmate*
 TUM PHAETHONTIADAS ET CETERA *suppleto*.

63 sursum erectas *H*: susum rectas *B*.

63 pro populis: propulis *B*.

64 *Hoc loco H lacunam statuit*: Filius Solis...mutatae sunt (*vide v.62 supra*) hic in
codice sequitur.

64 inventum *scripsi*: inventus *B*: inventum esse *H*.

64 accepisse: acipisse *B*.

64 poetam: *om. Citarelli*.

64 Boeotiae: bo&ia *B*.

65 leguntur: legunt *scripsit H*.

65 habentes Musas *scripsi*: habentes corusas *B*: Aonias Musas *H*.

65 montes *H*: monte *B*.

65 Helicon: elicon *B*.

Cytherona*, Musis consecratos*, vel AONAS Nymphas in monte Boeotiae viventes*. UNA SORORUM idest una Nympharum: hic indicat quod una Nympharum Hesiodum in Aonas montes adduxerit.

65 AONAS montes Boeotiae Helicon* et Cithaerona*, ubi Musae morantur. UT DUXERIT Hesiodus poeta de Ascra, Ascraeus dictus est* et calamis peritissimus, cum iam per aetatem* senesceret, in Helicon* montem Aoniae subiit ibique a Musis coronam cum floribus et frondibus* dicitur accepisse, qua indutus capiti* iuvenis factus est. alii dicunt et Lino, Apollinis filio, hoc concessum esse, alii hoc de Gallo accipiunt.

66 UTQUE VIRO idest Gallo vel Hesiodo, hoc est Hesiodus¹⁵ quem Silenus secutus est*. PHOEBI* Apollinis.

65 Cytherona: citherona B.

65 consecratos *H*: consecretas B.

65 monte Boeotiae viventes: montes Boeotiae venientes *H*.

65 Helicon: elicon B.

65 Cithaerona: chiterona B.

65 de Ascra Ascraeus dictus est *scripsi*: de ascraeos dictus *g* B: de Ascra unde Ascraeus dictus est *H*.

65 aetatem: hetatem B.

65 Helicon: eliconia B.

65 frondibus: forndibus B.

65 capiti: caput *corr.* *H*.

66 quem Silenus secutus est *scripsi*: quam B: quasi Linus fictus est *H* et lemma UT LINUS *suppl.* ante hoc est Hesiodus.

66 PHOEBI: pohebi B.

15 These references to Hesiod, if indeed the poet is intended, are too unclear to permit a connection to be made with any literary source. It is apparent that all too often the scholiast recognized (or thought he recognized) a famous name, yet knew nothing whatever about him or any substance.

- 66 CHORUS OMNIS* omnes Phoebi discipuli.
 ADSURREXERIT honorem fecerit.
- 67 UT LINUS Linus citharista, Apollinis et Psamathis*
 filius. alii dicunt huic Lino hoc factum contigisse.
- 68 APIO olus vel genus herbae viridis. AMARO*
 apii qui iuxta aquam non sunt* amariores esse
 solent.
- 69 DIXERIT Silenus Aeglae, vel Virgilius Varo.
- 70 ASCRAEO Hesiodo: Ascra* civitas Graeciae. QUOS
 ANTE SENI subaudiendum 'dederant'*.
- 70 ANTE SENI notandum bis enim mortuus finem
 vivendi percepit*, vel quod ei vita redonata.
 QUIBUS ILLE SOLEBAT Silenus dicit, vel Hesiodus;
 vel ILLE idest Phoebus.
- 71 RIGIDAS aut duras aut nimium rectas.
- 71 DEDUCERE MONTIBUS ORNOS idest quibus rusticos
 solebat mulcere.
- 72 HIS idest calamis. GRYNEI* mons Colophoniae, sacer
 Apollini, in quo ei modolabatur.

66 OMNIS *om.* Citarelli.

67 Psamathis *scripsi*: Psamathes *H*: samathe *B*: *cf. II.26 et IV.56.*

68 AMARO *H*: amore *B*.

68 apii...sunt *B*: quia flores qui iuxta aquam crescunt *H*.

70 Ascra: asca *B*.

70 dederant *H*: derant *B*: deerant *C*..

70 bis...percepit *corr. Mueller*: motuus *B*: ibi 'seni', nam moriturus finem vivendi
 recepit *H*: fidem vivendi Citarelli.

72 GRYNEI: crynei *B*.

72 HIS TIBI GRYNEI NEMORIS* DICATUR ORIGO idest
his calamis a te canatur origo Grynei nemoris.
Gryneum* nemus in monte est Colophoniae Apollini
sacrum*».

DICATUR consecratur, ut Apollini illic cantes.

73 IACTET gloriatur.

74 QUID LOQUOR nisi quod deum Silenus locutus est?*
AUT SCYLLAM* NISI ET RELIQUA sciendum est in hoc loco
utrum Virgilius de una* de duabus Scyllis loquatur, sed
si de una, quae est Nisi, eum falli putamus.¹⁶ inde
melius intellegendum est eum de duabus loqui, et per
'aut' (coniunctionem disiunctivam) fabulas earum caute
secernit, et in sexto libro Aeneidos Virgilius dicit duas
Scyllas esse, dicens 'Scyllaeque biformes'¹⁷: una Nisi,
alteri Forci, quarum fabulae hae sunt. Nisus,
Megarensium et* Siculorum* rex, a Minoe Cretensium rege
propter Androgei filii sui obitum, quem Athenienses* et

72 NEMORIS: nemomoris B.

72 Gryneum H: crusneū B.

72 sacrum Mueller: sacer B: sacro suspic. H.

74 nisi quod deum scripsi: nisi quod dñ B: nisi quod demum Citarelli: UT
SCYLLAM NISI quemadmodum H.

74 SCYLLAM: scylla B.

74 Mueller an add. post una.

74 et add. H.

74 Siculorum: Sicyoniorum H.

74 Athenienses: atenienses B.

16 PUTAMUS. Apparently another of those rare editorial
comments, though in the plural this time. See the foot-
note on III.82.

17 Aen. VI.286.

Megarenses* dolo circumventum occidissent, graviter oppugnabatur. sed Scylla, filia Nisi, adamavit Minoem patris scilicet hostem* et patri dormienti crinem fatalem purpureumque abscidit ut Minoi* hostium regi, cuius amore flagrabat, daret: quo absciso pater periit. itaque Scylla a Minoe non recepta,*hoc genus victoriae execratus eam in mare deiecit, et* in avem quae 'Ciris' dicitur (latine vero 'tonsilla') conversa est. item pater eius Nisus in alitem* conversus est, qui parricidii exsequens poenas* Cirim* hostili* mente persequitur.

item Scylla Forci et Crataeidis* Nymphae filia, virgo pulcherrima* a Glauco deo maris adamata est, de qua Virgilius dicit in primo libro Aeneidos 'vos et Scyllaeam rabiem* penitusque sonantis / accestis scopulos,'¹⁸. et* a Circe Solis filia, quae Glaucum adamaverat, in beluas marinas transfiguratur*, fretumque Siculum obsedit, ubi praetereuntes naufragio adficiebat: eamque Neptunus percussam tridenti in scopulum mutavit.

74 Megarenses *H*: nugarenses *B*.

74 hostem: ostem *B*.

74 Minoi *H*: monoi *B*.

74 'qui' ante hoc *H. add.*

74 et: om. *H*.

74 in alitem *Mueller*: in Haliaeetum *H*: in ali&um *B*.

74 poenas: penas *B*.

74 Cirim: cyrim *B*.

74 hostili: ostili *B*.

74 Crataeidis *H*: cretidis *B*: cf. v. 77 *infra*.

74 pulcherrima *scripsi*: pulcherrime *B*: pulcherrimae formae *H*.

74 rabiem *H*: rabiemq; *B*.

74 et: set *H*.

74 transfiguratur: transfigureretur *Citarelli*.

74 Scylla, Forci filia, a Glauco deo maris
adamata est. Glaucus vero non valuit tenere* eam.
ad Circen* Solis filiam perrexit maleficiorum
doctissimam rogavitque* ut Scyllam* maleficiis
corriperet*. Circe vero rogantem Glaucum*
adamavit, sed ne Scylla* plus forte a Glauco
amaretur quam Circe, fontem in quo Scylla <post>*
venatum ablui censuerat*, quia Dianae comes erat,
venenis inficit*; in quem* descendens* Scylla
pube tenus in beluas mutata est. sed quia monstra
(idest pilos suos in canes versos) tegere non
potuit, in mare profugit et virgineam extollit*
faciem navigantibus. ideo nautae torquebant ad
eam naves virginem eam credentes, quos illa
conprehensos beluis suis porrigebat ut rabiem
luporum possit* conpescere. tunc Neptunus iratus
tridenti percussam in scopulum mutavit, quasi*
praetereuntes naufragio affligit. QUAM FAMA*

74 tenere *H*: tenerere *B*: temerare *coni. Mueller.*

74 Circen *H*: circe *B*.

74 rogavitque: rogavitquae *B*.

74 Scyllam *H*: cylla *B*.

74 corriperet: corrumperet *coni. H*.

74 Glaucum: claucu *B*.

74 Scylla: scilla *B*.

74 post: *add. H*.

74 censuerat: consuerat *emend. H*.

74 inficit: infecit *H*.

74 quem *H*: quom *B*.

74 descendens *H*: descedens *B*.

74 extollit: extulit *H*.

74 possit: posset *Mueller et H: om. Citarelli.*

74 quasi: qui *H*: quia *Citarelli.*

74 FAMA: femina *B*.

SECUTA EST furandi crinem Nisi, quem dedit Minoi:
 'illa crinem furata est, ego carmen'. FAMA
 idest infamia, ut ipse 'est* in conspectu Tenedos,
 notissima fama'¹⁹. idest infamia, quia Tennes cum
 noverca sua concubuit. FAMA SECUTA EST si quidem
 alterius amore flagravat, Iunilius dicit.²⁰

74 ipse est *ordinem mut.* H: est ipse B: ipse *om.* Mueller.

19 Aen. II.21.

20 Cf. Expl. I: AUT SCYLLAM idest ... SCYLLAM QUAM FAMA SECUTA EST si quidem alterius amore flagravat. Sed fama idest infamia, ut ipse 'Est in conspectu Tenedos notissima fama' idest infamia, quia Tennes cum noverca sua concubuerat ... VEL SCYLLAM idest Nisus, rex Megarensium, cum oppugnaretur a Minoe, rege Cretensium, Scylla, filia eius Nisi, quae adamaverat hostium ducem, crine fatali absciso * et postea propter illa prodita non recepta in navem regiam, mutata est in monstrum sui nominis, quae circa fretum Siculum socios Ulixis vexavit, (in) quam Ulixes, (ut) videtur, incidit. Expl. II: quod Scyllam - Virgilius duas Scyllas dicit esse, unam Nisi filiam, alteram Forci. Nisus migarensium siculorum rex a Minoe rege cretensium, propter Androgei filii sui occisionem (quem athenenses et migarenses dolo circumventum occidissent) graviter oppugnabatur. sed Scylla Nisi filia adamavit Minoem, patris scilicet sui hostem, et patri crinem fatalem purpureumque abscidit. quo iam absciso pater periit. itaque Scylla a Minoe non recepta, detestans malum quod in patrem admisit, et eam in mare iecit et in avem (que cyris dicitur, latine vero tolsilla) versa est et pater eius Nisus in halieta conversus est, qui parricidii exsequens poenas Cyrum hostili mente prosequitur. Scylla vero, Forci et Critidis nympha filia, virgo pulcherrima a Glaucio deo maris adamata est, de qua Virgilius dicit in i libro aeneidum, 'vos scileam rabiem penitusque sonantis / adcestis scopulos'. et a Circe solis filia quae Glaucum amaverat in beluas marinas transfigurata est fretumque siculum obsedit ubi preternavigantes adficiebat. eamque Neptunus percussam tridenti in scopulum motavit, Glaucius enim Scyllam habere et tenere non potuit. ideo rogavit Circe<m> solis filiam, maleficiorum doctissimam, ut Scyllam suis maleficiis corrumpere et seduceret. Circe vero Glaucum amans, ne Scylla plus forte a Glaucio amaretur, et illa sciens fontem in quo Scylla post ventum se abluere semper consueverat (que Diane comes erat), illa malefica veniens ad fontem inficit illum, in quem

75 CANDIDA clara. SUCCINCTAM Scyllam Forci
filiam. INGUINA nomen loci in quo c<anes>*
Scyllae latrabant. MONSTRIS canibus.

[Folio 15v.]

76 DULICHIAS Ithacenses, a patria Ulixis; mons
Ithacae*. RATES pro navibus. GURGITE mari per
tapinosim.

77 A execratio. Scyllam alii Crataeidis*, alii
Lamiae* filiam dicunt, quae* cum a Glauco* adamata
esset, a Circe Glauci* coniuge pelicatus odio,
fontem in quo lavari solebat medicamentis
infectum*; in quem cum illa descendisset*, ea
tenus, qua fontem contigerat, in beluas esse
mutatam. est enim Scylla Forci filia, quam Ulixes
videtur incedere*.

78 TEREI Tereus rex Thracum, Prognen* uxorem habens,
filiam Pandionis regis Atheniensium*, Philomelam sororem
eius adamavit atque, dum eam ad sororem ducit, in itinere

75 canes *obsc. suppl. Mueller.*

76 Ithacae *H: ithaci B.*

77 Crataeidis *H: crathedis B.*

77 Lamiae *H: ganive B.*

77 quae: *expunxit Citarelli.*

77 Glauco: *glaco B.*

77 Glauci: *clauci B.*

77 medicamentis infectum *H: medicamentum infectis B.*

77 descendisset: *discendisset B.*

77 quam...incedere *scripsi: quem ulixis B: in quam Ulixes dicitur incidisse coni. H.*

78 Prognen *H: progne B.*

78 Atheniensium: *athenensium B: cf. ad v. 74 supra.*

discendens Scylla pube tenus in beluam mutata est, et
reliqua. Neptunus vero, sibi non placens, Scyllam
virgineo vultu fallentem semper invadere naves, illam
percussit, in scopulum convertit.

stupravit et, ne factum sorori loqueretur, linguam amputavit. quae de sanguine suo scelus quod pertulerat in harundine* scribens misit ad sororem, quam illa secrete ad domum suam adduxit, filiumque suum nomine <Itun>* iugulatum patri Tereo edendum adposuit, cuius caput* novissime Philomela ante ora patris ingessit. quibus omnibus sceleribus patefactis, in aves dicuntur esse mutati: Tereus in upupam*, Progne in hirundinem*, Philomela in lusciniam.

78 NARRAVERIT idest Prognae. ARTUS Ituis* filii Nerei vel Terei. Progne Pandionis filia uxor Nerei Thracum regis, cuius filius Itus.

79 QUAS ILLI PHILOMELA* DAPES quod fecit Progne, hoc dicit Philomelam* fecisse, licentia poetica ut Gaudentius* ait. Progne et Philomela duae sorores sunt; Progne in avem lusciniam, Philomela in hirundinem* versa est. Progne interfecatrix est, Philomela causa est ut puto²¹. Progne uxor Nerei,

78 harundine: arundine B.

78 Itun *suppl.* H.

78 caput: capud B.

78 upupam: uppupa B.

78 hirundinem: hyrundine B.

78 Ituis H: itius B.

79 PHILOMELA H: folomela B.

79 Philomelam: filomelam B.

79 Gaudentius: gaudencius B.

79 hirundinem: irundinem B.

21 UT PUTO. Another editorial comment. See the footnote on III.82.

Philomela Terei*; aliter versa vice. PARARIT
pro paraverit.

80 CURSU pro volatu*: hic metafora.

81 INFELIX quae loqui minime potuit.

82 OMNIA QUAE PHOEBEO idest quae ab Apolline solitus
erat Eurotas audire, qui est fluvijs Laconiae, in cuius
ripa lauri sunt, quas arbores edidisse* carmen poeta
refert.

82 BEATUS Silenus vel Varus.

83 EUROTAS fluvijs Laconiae, in cuius ripa lauri
sunt et templum Apollinis cuius arbores edidisse*
carmen poeta refert.

84 ILLE idest Silenus. PULSAE pulsatae; idest echo
audiebatur, vel pro audientibus. REFERUNT commonent
referre.

84 PULSAE idest carminibus eius pulsatae.

REFERUNT AD SIDERA idest dum resultant.

85 COGERE concludere.

85 REFERRE reducere, recognoscere, recensere:
vult enim per hoc significare pastorale carmen
finitum esse.

86 INVITO quasi nolente: nolentem dicit propter
carminum desiderium et suavitatem.

86 VESPER stella occidentis. OLYMPO caelo.

79 Terei: therei B.

80 volatu *Mueller*: voluto B.

82 edidisse *scripsi*: & edisse B: et edidisse *Mueller*: edidicisse *H*.

83 edidisse B: edidicisse *H. et Citarelli*.

ECLOGUE VII

Haec egloga in honorem Caesaris scripta est. in hac egloga personae <IIII>* introducuntur. in hac egloga historialiter* trium* pastorum personae: duorum scilicet certantium, et tertius more iudicis loquitur, et quarta persona subrepat*, idest pastorum* vel principis*. Corydon autem et Thyrsis* coram Meliboeo (idest iudice), in praesentia Daphnidis (idest dei* pastoralis) certant, et alligorice certamen poetarum intellegitur. Corydon enim Virgilium, Thyrsis Cornificium* inimicum Virgilii, Meliboeus Cornelium Gallum poetam optimum iudicantem inter eos significat. Daphnis vero alligorice Caesarem. Meliboeus, Corydon, Thyrsis et Daphnis. Quattuor personae in hac egloga introducuntur: Meliboei, Virgilii vel Vari; Daphnidis Cornelii Galli vel Caesaris; Corydonis et Thyrsidis, Virgilii et Macri, quorum par aetas fuit.

Haec egloga proprie bucolicon. haec egloga memeticos appellatur. haec egloga a Meliboeo, iudice conflictus, tota narratur, cuius personam

IIII *add. H.*

historialiter *H:* storialiter *B:* pastoraliter *Mueller.*

trium *Mueller et Funaioli:* titum *B:* IIII *H.*

subrepat: subripit *B.*

pastorum: <dei> pastorum *H.*

principis: principes *Citarelli.*

Thyrsis: tyrsis *B ut saepe.*

dei *H:* di *B.*

Cornificium *H:* corbificiū *B.*

Virgilius scribens induit. haec egloga pari numero epigrammatum gaudet atque* tetrasticha*, idest quattuor versus continet. haec egloga quasi in Gallia canitur, ut 'hic virides tenera praetexit harundine* ripas Mincius'¹, et in agro canitur, ut 'forte sub arguta consederat ilice* Daphnis'². Meliboeus Cornelius Gallus, Corydon Virgilius, Thyrsis Cornificius.

1 FORTE eventu. ARGUTA personanti vento. ARGUTA stridola, mobili, canora. ILICE nomen arboris: ilex* alligorice rem publicam significat.

1 DAPHNIS Mercurii filius vel deus pastoralis vel princeps; alligorice Caesar vel Cornelius iudex eorum.

2 CONPULERANT coadunaverunt*. CORYDON ET THYRSIS Virgilius et Cornificius.

2 IN UNUM quia ambo antoniani* erant priusquam suis privatus vix transvadato flumine ad Caesarem confugeret.

3 DISTENTAS plenas.

atque: adq; B.
 tetrasticha: thetrastica B.
 harundine: arundine B.
 ilice: ille B.
 1 ilex: ilix B.
 2 coadunaverunt: coadunaverant H.
 2 antoniani *Mueller*: antoniū B.

1 Verses 12-13.

2 Verse 1.

- 4 AMBO FLORENTES nobiles poetae Corydon et Thyrsis.
 4 ARCADES AMBO laudative dicit. cur 'Arcades'
 dicit, cum Mantuani sint? propter eloquentiam,
 quia agrestis carminis fistula sit instrumentum,
 cuius primus Pan inventor fuit.
- 5 CANTARE voce.
 5 RESPONDERE fistula vel stipula vel cicuta*.
 PARATI docti peritia* alterna dicere.
- 6 HUC pro hic. DUM TENERAS DEFENDO A FRIGORE* MYRTUS
 dum illic in Cremone essem subita tempestate evulsus. A
 FRIGORE a futuro frigore, ceterum aestus erat, dum
 subiungitur* 'requiesce sub umbra'³.
- 6 MYRTUS rudes* plantas.
- 7 VIR GREGIS hircus idest spes gregis. 'vir gregis'
 abusive dicitur spes gregis. DEERRAVERAT idest a me
 erraverat.
- 7 CAPER hircus: hic 'vir' et 'caper' ipse
 alligorice ager. ATQUE* EGO DAPHNIM ASPICIO
 Caesarem petivi, ut 'hic illum vidi iuvenem'⁴.

5 cicuta *coni.* H: e contra B: calamo *Citarelli.*

5 peritia *scripsi:* pericia B: periti H.

6 FRIGORE: frygore B.

6 dum subiungitur: dumsubiungitur B.

6 rudes: virides *scripsit* H.

7 ATQUE: adq; B.

3 Verse 10.

4 Ecl. I.43.

8 ILLE UBI ME CONTRA VIDET alligorice
significat se Virgilius, dum sub Antonio sua etiam
minima protegere nititur, et maiora perdidisse
sed, postquam venit ad Caesarem, omnia recepissee.

8 OCIUS citius, velocius.

9 HUC ADES idest ut* 'responsum primus dedit ille
petenti'.⁵ O MELIBOEE laborator et pastor, alligorice
Virgilius. CAPER ET HAEDI* quoniam ex eo generantur.

9 HUC ADES huc veni. O MELIBOEE vox est
Caesaris ad Virgilium. CAPER TIBI SALVUS ET
HAEDI* idest et maiora et minora tibi salva sunt.

10 ET SI QUID CESSARE POTES hic ostenditur Meliboeus
laborator et pastor fuisse. REQUIESCE ut 'pascite ut
ante boves, pueri'.⁶

10 SI QUID CESSARE POTES alligorice ab itinere
vel labore quiescere. REQUIESCE SUB UMBRA vox
Caesaris ad Virgilium: 'requiesce sub protectione
mea'.

9 ante ut *H add.* 'huc veni' *sine auct. codicis; eum sequitur Citarelli.*

9 CAPER ET HAEDI: capet edi B.

9 HAEDI: edi B.

5 Ecl. I.44. This is one of those passages which cast great doubt on the value of Citarelli's text. Here Hagen nods - a very rare occurrence indeed - and wrongly asserts that the text of B reads 'huc ades idest huc veni'. It does not. In fact he has transposed the similar note 'huc ades huc veni' from the right-hand margin to this position, but failed to mention the fact in his apparatus. The main point, though, is that Citarelli is caught out uncritically repeating this error.

6 Ecl. I.45.

11 IUVENCI quomodo 'iuvenci' dixit, cum supra dixerit 'caper tibi salvus et haedi'?⁷ set sic solvitur: huc ipsi per prata iuvenci venient haedi. iuvencus enim fluviuſ dicitur haud longe a Mincio. alligorice, huc ipsi iuvenci potum venient, quasi dicat Augustus: 'etiam magni quique ad meum festinabunt amorem'.

[Folio 16r.]

12 HIC VIRIDIS TENERA PRAETEXIT HARUNDINE RIPAS secundum litteram⁸ ostendit se magis* in Mantuanorum agris.

12 HARUNDINE calamo. alligorice potest per Mincium flumen Augustalis potestas intellegi.

13 MINCIUS* amnis est Galliae (quae modo Liguria dicitur) qui fluviuſ Minciuſ transit per Mantuam patriam Virgilii.

13 EQUÉ SACRA RESONANT EXAMINA QUERCU* vel mellis* delicias narrat, vel alligorice intra potentiam Octaviani vel urbis continentiam popularem frequentiam.

12 se magis: rem agi *coni. Funaioli*.

13 MINCIUS: mimcius B.

13 QUERCU *H: quercum B: quercus Citarelli*.

13 mellis: muellis B.

7 Verse 9.

8 LITTERAM. Another, rare, instance of an error of Hagen exposing the imitative character of Citarelli's text. The scribe clearly employs the abbreviation 'litm', which Hagen wrongly records as 'litr'. Citarelli repeats the error.

RESONANT susurrum* remittunt. EXAMINA apes.

14 QUID FACEREM nisi acciperem. ALCIPPEN et PHYLLIDA nomina ancillarum vel deae cantici; alligorice Mantuam et Cremonem*, vel Musas quae erant illic. PHYLLIDA* accusativus* casus.

14 NEQUE EGO ALCIPPEN NEC PHYLLIDA HABEBAM Alcippen* nomen pueri*, vel, ut alii volunt*, duae puellae. Alcippe et Phyllida intelleguntur amici Meliboei; alligorice neque Mantuam neque Cremonam se dicit ad solacium habuisse.

15 DEPULSOS* verbo proprie* pastorum utitur, ut 'ovium teneros depellere fetus'⁹, Iunilius dicit.¹⁰

15 DEPULSOS QUAE CLAUDET idest adiuuaret me.

16 ET CERTAMEN ERAT CORYDON CUM THYRSIDE se vult intellegi et Cornificium contra quem sub persona Corydonis* in defensione* Caesaris defendit*, qui sibi bona restituit, vel per Thyrsim Antonium vult intellegi.

13 susurrum *H*: sursum *B*.

14 Cremonem *B*: Cremonam *Mueller*.

14 PHYLLIDI: pyllida *B*.

14 accusativus: accusatius *B*.

14 Alcippen: alcipen *B*.

14 pueri *H*: puer *B*.

14 volunt *H*: nolunt *B*.

15 DEPULSOS: depolsos *B*.

15 proprie *B*: proprio *Mueller*.

16 Corydonis: chorydonis *B*.

16 defensione *B*: defensionem *H*.

16 defendit: contendit *scrips. H*.

9 Ecl. I.21.

10 Neither of the Explanations provides any comparable information.

16 CORYDON CUM THYRSIDE ille et ille, non illius
et illius*; idest* personas certamen vocat, non
opus earum. alligorice Virgilius cum inimicis
defendens Caesarem.

17 POSTHABUI alligorice, post ea habuit
Virgilius conflictum cum* inimicis.

17 POSTHABUI* postposui, contempsi, ut 'posthabita'¹¹.
TAMEN adverbium. SERIA negotia*. MEA SERIA secreta
negotia domus meae.

SERIA forsan idem et #syrice#* serendo dicta.

ILLORUM LUDO idest cantationibus*.

18 ALTERNIS* IGITUR nunc poeta dicit, idest Virgilius.
nunc alternatim Virgilius et Cornificius quasi Corydon et
Thyrsis cantant.

19 MUSAE numina carminis; Musarum nomina tria
<et tria>* genera sunt: aqua, ignis, aer.

20 HOS versus.

21 NYMPHAE Musae. NYMPHAE NOSTER AMOR alligorice*
Musae quas nos diligimus. AUT MIHI CARMEN epigrammata
tetrasticha idest quattuor versibus cantant, ut in

16 illius *H*: illu B.

16 idest *Mueller*: adest B.

17 cum: *om. Citarelli*.

17 POSTHABUI: postabui B.

17 negotia: negocia B.

17 #syrice#: sata a *Citarelli*: seria a *coniciam*.

17 cantationibus: cantionibus *Mueller*.

18 ALTERNIS: arternis B.

19 et tria *add. H*: sunt, et elementorum tria *coni. Citarelli*.

21 alligorice *scripsi*: allogoricae B.

11 Aen. I.16.

prioribus disticha sunt ubi duobus versibus cantant.
disticha idest duorum versuum.

21 NYMPHAE LIBETHRIDES a monte Boeotiae Libethro
qui est Musis sacer; vel Libethrus fluvijs in
Thracia* ubi Orpheus laniatus est, ubi se Musae
lavabant*. alii fontem in Boeotia dicunt,
Iunilius dicit.¹²

22 QUALE MEO CODRO ET RELIQUA alligorice per Codrum
vult Theocritum intellegi quem in Bucolicis secutus est.
aliter, per Codrum vult intellegi Helvium* Cinnam poetam,
de quo melius sentit. Codrum dicit Cinnam* et vult
utique tamquam lividum aestimatorem futurum operis sui
invidia rumpi. aliter, Virgilius de Maevio, inimico
invido; sicut Codrus pro* invidia periit, sic et iste
invidus moriatur.* aliter, sic facite* Caesari quomodo
Phoebo, Gaudentius dicit.

22 Codrus* aut nobilis poeta aut pastor, quem
laudat Virgilius. QUALE MEO CODRO de alio poeta

21 Thracia H: trahia B.

21 lavabant *em. Mueller*: levabant B.

22 Helvium H: elidum B.

22 Cinnam H: unna B.

22 pro: prae *scripsit H*.

22 Codrum dicit Cinnam...invidus moriatur *ad v. 26 pertinere putat H*.

22 facite: favete *coni. H*.

22 Codrus H: codrbus B.

12 Cf. Expl. I: NYMPHAE idest allegorice Musas ego
diligo. LIBETHRIDES idest quas nos diligimus, idest a
monte Boeotiae Libethro, qui est Musis sacer. Expl. II:
nymphae idest allegori<c>e musae <quas> ego diligo.
Libetrides aut mihi carmen idest Libethrius fluvijs in
Tracia a monte boezie Libetro, qui est musis sacer.

bono* vel de Caesare dicit et petit Musas ut et ipse ita possit. PROXIMA similia Phoebi qui bene cantavit; alligorice Homerum significat. vel
22-3 PROXIMA PHOEBI* VERSIBUS ILLE FACIT idest Caesar paene sicut* Apollo facit.

23 VERSIBUS ILLE FACIT per versus canit. AUT SI NON POSSUMUS similia facere, aut si non donatis* mihi, aut si non similia canere potero, desistam esse poeta. nunc quasi* alius respondet*.

24 ARGUTA stridula, mobilis.

24 PINU forsitan de pinu vel tropice.

25 PASTORES poetae vel nymphae, idest Musae. hedera circa poetam, laurus circa militem ponitur.

25 CRESCENTEM dicere incipientem. ORNATE POETAM de se ipso dicit Thyrsis.

26 ARCADES de Arcadia. INVIDIA ex invidia.

26 RUMPANTUR UT ILIA CODRO loquitur hoc Thyrsis, idest Aemilius Macer poeta, de Virgilio; vel RUMPANTUR idest Cornificio vel Maevio*. CODRO hoc nomine aut pastorem aut poetam commemorat. CODRO alligorice Thyrsis mortem Augusti vel Virgilii optat.

22 bono *scripsit H: bo B: om. Mueller.*

22 PHOEBI: pohebi B.

22-3 paene sicut *Mueller: poene sic B.*

23 donatis *Mueller: donantis B.*

23 quasi *H: quas B.*

23 respondet: respondit B.

26 Maevio: moevio B.

27 AUT SI ULTRA PLACITUM LAUDARIT BACCARE FRONTEM*
 CINGITE quia putabant laudibus aliquem fascinari
 convenienter*, ne laus futuro vati officiat*, baccare
 cingi iubetur, quae herba fascino resistere posse
 putatur.

27 AUT SI ULTRA PLACITUM LAUDARIT si plus
 laudaverit quam mihi placuerit, vel Thyrsis de se
 dicit. BACCARE herba quae ob fascinum in frontem
 ligatur; ex baccare coronam molitur* si quis est
 nociturus ingenium*, quidam putant. Cornificium
 lividum dicit, quia Cinna supra laudavit.

28 CINGITE ne fascinet vati, idest mihi, vel Antonio
 alligorice. MALA LINGUA fasciosa.

28 FUTURO quia canam.

29 TIBI deest 'erit'.

29 SAETOSI pilosi. vota facit convenientia venatoribus
 et pastoribus Dianae si impetraverit* uti restituatur
 sibi ager. DELIA Apollo vel Diana, de Delo insula.

29 DELIA* vocativus casus est. PARVUS Micon*
 puer eius, vel Diana*, vel, ut Iunilius dicit,

27 FRONTEM: ferontem B.

27 convenienter H: cumvenienter B.

27 officiat H: efficiat B.

27 coronam molitur *scripsi*: corona moliatur B: corona enim ligatur *bene coni.* H.

27 ingenium: ingenio ut H.

29 impetraverit H: imperaverit B.

29 DELIA H: parvus B.

29 Micon: mycon B.

29 vel Diana: H. *post* 'vocativus casus est' *transposuit*.

pauper, dicens ut Horatius* 'parvi properemus'¹³;
et* e contrario 'ampli' divites dicuntur.¹⁴

30 VIVACIS quia centum annos* cervus* vivere
dicitur. CORNUA CERVI deest 'erunt'.

31 SI PROPRIUM HOC FUERIT hoc poema* si aut perpetuum
aut acceptum vel aptum, ut accipias. LEVI DE MARMORE
forsan pro colore vel forma.

32 PUNICEO rubeo.

32 COTHURNO* calciamento venatricio, quo crura
teguntur.

33 SINUM genus vasis rustici vimine factum*. ET HAEC
TE* sufficit vel debet*. PRIAPE CUSTOS HORTI quia
Priapus hortis praeesse dicitur, unde et mense Martio*

29 dicens ut Horatius *bene coni.* H: *dns* in oratione B.

29 et: ut H.

30 annos H: annis B.

30 cervus *coni.* H: dicere B.

31 poema: poma B.

32 COTHURNO: coturno B.

33 factum: fastu B.

33 ET HAEC TE: *Citarelli falsum lemma considerat, SAT EST scribit.*

33 debet: decet *coni.* H.

33 Martio: marcio B.

13 Ep. I.iii.28.

14 Cf. Expl. I: SETOSI idest simch. (PARVUS MICON) idest ex illo, quod scriptum est: 'Micone granoque revexerat insulis'. [Apollini et Dianae consecratum est.] Vota facit convenientia venatoribus et pastoribus Dianae, si inpetraverit, uti restituatur sibi ager. DELIA idest Diana. PARVUS idest puer. [30] MICON [idest Diana] vel pauper # dominus, ut in Horatio: 'parvi properemus'; ut e contrario 'ampli' divites dicuntur. Expl. II: Delia idest Deana. parvus Micon idest vel gramen vile hedere idest herba, que ob invidiam in frontem legatus, Apollini et Diane consecratum. pauper dominus.

Priapeia sacra celebrantur. sub persona Thyrsidis Macer
vota facit pro Virgilio; quotsi agros receperit etiam
maiora promittit.

33 LIBA libamina.* Priapus iurgiis gaudet.
fascinum eum deum dicit, ergo Aemilius* Macer
timet ne fascinet ei et ideo veneratur eum. vel
Priapus custos* bovum. alligorice PRIAPE Antoni.

34 EXSPECTARE sustinere, tollere. SAT EST debet* vel
sufficit.

34 CUSTOS ES PAUPERIS HORTI* alligorice quasi
sub eo exule esset Cornificius ab Antonio
susceptus*.

35 MARMOREUM formosum.

35 PRO TEMPORE prout tempus tulit.

[Folio 16v.]

36 SI FETURA ET CETERA si responderit carmen
spei meae, qui nunc marmoreus deus, aureus eris,
si fetus gregis ampliatus fuerit. AUREUS ESTO
formosior, idest maioribus laudibus prosequar.
haec ad Antonium dicit vel ad deum cui*
sacrificat.

36 SI FETURA si abunde carmen dicam. GREGEM
SUPPLEVERIT idest per multitudinem agnorum.

33 LIBA libamina: *om. H. (et Citarelli).*

33 Aemilius: *emilius B.*

33 custos: *custus B.*

34 debet: *debet H.*

34 HORTI: *orti B.*

34 sub eo...susceptus: *ab eo, idest ab Antonio, exul esset Cornificius susceptus H.*

36 cui: *cuiu B.*

37 NERINE GALATEA amicam advocat. alligorice Virgilius Galateam (idest Galliam) his verbis laudat et hortatur ut, sicut ipse erat cum Caesare, et ipsa adesset. HYBLAE* Hybla civitas Hispaniae* ubi thymum nascitur, Iunilius dicit.¹⁵ tamen Gaudentius dicit: mons in Sicilia vel locus in Attica ubi mel optimum.

37 NERINE Nerei filia. GALATEA concubina. THYMO melle vel flore. NERINE GALATEA ET RELIQUA laudat Nymphas ut ad se veniant et adiuvent carmen. aliter, alligorice de Gallia dicit quae dulcior est mihi substantiis nostris, vel dulcior melle Siculo, Gaudentius dicit.

38 CANDIDIOR formosa.

38 HEDERA ALBA alba dicit quia est et nigra.

39 CUM PRIMUM idest tunc veni, cum primum possessores novi coeperint adsignatos possidere agros.

39 REPETENT PRAESEPIA TAURI ubi iam cum hora esset* gregum, vel sero fuerit.

37 HYBLAE: hible B.

37 Hispaniae: hyspaniae B.

39 ubi...esset: veni tunc, cum hora adest *coni. H.*

15 Cf. Expl. I: NERINE idest Nerei filia. THYMO idest melle vel flore. DULCIOR idest videtur. HYBLAE idest dulcior, inquit, Gallia melle Siculo et fertilitate sensus formosior aedera. Expl. II: Nerine idest filia Nerei. Galatea idest Gallia mihi dulcior in quod de melle siculo, fertilitate sensus formosior. timo pro melle posuit vel flore.

There is more in common here with Gaudentius, as reported by the Scholia Bernensia in the following gloss, than with Iunilius.

40 SI QUA si me diligis, si modo non habes Virgilium
invisum, restituatur mihi hoc quod possedi. TUI
CORYDONIS concubinam adloquitur.

40 SI HABET TE CURA VENITO idest si tenet te
amore* mei, veni. CURA amor, ut 'at* regina
gravi iamdudum saucia cura'¹⁶, Iunilius dicit.¹⁷

41 IMMO TIBI idest Priapo. IMMO coniuratio est* et
execratio est: coniuratio est quando dicimus 'sic
vivas'; execratio ut si dicas 'sic non moriaris'.

41 SARDONIIS Sardiniensibus*. sardonias herba
similis apio* iuxta rivos nascitur in Sardinia
insula, quam si quis manducaverit risu moritur.
IMMO EGO ET RELIQUA alligorice: 'non diligis* me,
Antoni'.

42 RUSCO ruscus genus fruticis* spinosi amarus
cortice*.

40 amore *scripsi*: amore B: amor H.

40 at: ad B.

41 est: *om. Citarelli*.

41 Sardiniensibus: sardinensibus B.

41 apio B: apis *falso H. (et Citarelli!)*.

41 diligis: diligas H.

42 fruticis H: fructicis B.

42 amarus cortice: amarae corticis H.: amaro cortice *Mueller*.

16 Aen. IV.1.

17 Cf. Expl. I: SI QUA TUI idest concubinam allo-
quitur. CORYDONIS idest Virgilii. TE CURA idest si me
diligis. Expl. II: si qua tui Corydonis idest Virgilius
idest concubinam alloquitur. habet te cura idest si me
diligis.

42 PROIECTA pro nihilo habita. ALGA herba
maritima, vel herba quae in littore maris
invenitur proiecta.

43 SI MIHI NON HAEC LUX idest dies peregrinationis vel
exilii; dies pro anno accipi potest.

43 SI MIHI NON HAEC LUX ET RELIQUA sub persona
Thyrsidis Macer loquitur et dicit se Priapo, cui
vota fecerat, odiosum videri, si non taedio*
afficiatur de exilio Virgilii. sive ad amicam
loquitur absentem, quam sibi reliquerat, et
expectando vesperam annum sibi dicit diem videri,
unde et hortatur* pecus suum domum reverti, dum
dicit 'ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite
iuvenci'18.

44 ITE* DOMUM ET RELIQUA ad suos dicit Cornificius.
PASTI satiati, docti. alligorice, si paeniteat Augustus*
vestri, cur* non mei?

45 MUSCOSI FONTES ET RELIQUA uterque adulatorium carmen
subiecit pertinens ad Caesaris venerationem. muscus
herba quae nascitur in aquis, Iunilius dicit.19

43 taedio *H*: te odio *B*: taedio *in marg. secundum Mueller, sed hodie non liquet.*

43 hortatur: ortatur *B*.

44 ITE: item *B*.

44 Augustus: Augustum *H*.

44 cur *H*: cum *B*.

18 Verse 44.

19 Cf. Expl. I: MUSCOSI idest coennich. FONTES idest
sum. ET QUAE VOS idest o loci. ARBUTUS idest sunt
frondes. Uterque adulatorium carmen subiecit pertinens
ad Caesaris venerationem. Expl. II: muscosi fontes
idest arbutos idest uterque adulatorium carmen subiecit
pertinens ad Caesaris iuberationem.

45 MUSCOSI FONTES quia* muscum habent, quod est
genus lanuginis et in arborum corticibus et in
fontibus* nascens. MUSCOSI FONTES alligorice
deus aquarum, vel Nymphas* fontium invocat. ET
SOMNO MOLLIOR HERBA alligorice deus herbarum*.
HERBA pro herbarum dea.

46 ET QUAE VOS o loca arborum super fontes. ARBUTUS
genus arboris rubea mora gerens.

46 ARBUTUS frondes; deus frondium.

47 SOLSTITIUM aestus. solestitium quia circa horam*
stat* et iterum ad ima currit. alligorice, 'ardorem
tempestatis, dii, defendite ut non sic pereamus ut
prius'. IAM VENIT AESTAS idest ira Caesaris*.

47 SOLSTITIUM DEFENDITE ab ardore tempestatibus,
idest ab ira Caesaris, ut non sic pereamus ut
prius. hoc alligorice; ad litteram vero hoc vult
dicere: solstitium pecori defendite, idest pascua
defendite ne siccentur solis ardore. IAM VENIT
AESTAS hic aestum, ille frigus laudat.

48 TORRIDA ignea, sicca. IAM idest nunc incipiamus
laetificari.

45 quia *H*: que *B*.

45 fontibus *H*: frontibus *B*.

45 Nymphas: nymphasi *B*.

45 herbarum: erbarum *B*.

47 horam: ora *B*.

47 ante stat *Citarelli*. <sol> add.

47 idest...Caesaris: *om. Citarelli, et add.*: hic aestum, ille frigus laudat. *Vide infra.*

48 GEMMAE flagella vitium gemmas vocat.

49 HIC FOCUS subauditur est. ET TAEDAE PINGUES ligna
luminaribus apta, quae in nuptiis fiunt.

49 HIC FOCUS ET RELIQUA USQUE RIPAS²⁰ alligorice
hic sensus est: licet hic aliquid congregare
possimus, semper timemus frigora, idest
tempestatem. HIC PLURIMUS IGNIS idest consuetus.

50 FULIGINE quicquid fumus de taedis* fuscum facit,
fuligo dicitur.

51 HIC TANTUM BOREAE ET RELIQUA superius sub
persona Corydonis Virgilius cavet ne ut prius
tristia patiatur, et post sibi laeta promittit.
nunc Cornificius, qui cum Antonio erat, dicit se
tristia non timere et munitum fervore armorum
frigus, idest iram Caesaris, non formidare. ponit
autem rusticas similitudines* lupi et torrentis,
quae bene congruunt rusticitati* pastoralis.

51 CURAMUS hoc est parvi ducimus. CURAMUS FRIGORA pro
nihilo curamus frigora propter lignorum habundantiam.

52 AUT NUMERUM LUPUS ut de numero* pecorum tollat.
NUMERUM alligorice civium multitudinem.

50 taedis: thedis B.

51 rusticas similitudines H: rustica similitudines B.

51 rusticitati H: rusticitate B.

52 numero H, *sed etiam* numero unum *coniecit*: numerum B.

- 52 LUPUS et FLUMINA ut lupus vel flumina suam
servant naturam, sic* curamus. RIPAS lapillos.
53 STANT habundant. IUNIPERI iuniperus genus ligni
duri. STANT ET RELIQUA USQUE SICCA* [56] alligorice hic
sensus est: dicit se omnibus bonis habundantem, sed si
Alexis desit (idest Caesar), putat* esse frustratum.
- 53 STANT ET IUNIPERI ET CETERA sensus huiusmodi
est: dicit se Virgilius omnibus bonis habundare,
at si Caesar ab illo avertatur, omnia in
contrarium verti; vel Corydon hoc dicit de suo
dilecto Alexi. HIRSUTAE* capillosae vel
spinosae*.
- 54 STRATA* IACENT non vento sed maturitate.
- 55 OMNIA NUNC RIDENT hilara et festiva sunt.
- 55 ALEXIS puer pastoralis.
- 56 ABEAT* discedat.
- 56 FLUMINA SICCA aqua viduata.
- 57 ARET AGER ET CETERA si de pastore accipitur*,
sensus est: omnia nunc sicca sunt, sed adventu
amicae Phyllidis revirescent*; sin Cornificii vox

52 sic *H*: si *B*.

53 SICCA: sic *Citarelli*.

53 *post* putat *H*. 'se' *add*.

53 HIRSUTAE: hyrsute *B*.

53 capillosae vel spinosae: capillose vel spinosicae *B*.

54 STRATA: strate *B*.

56 ABEAT: habeat *B*.

57 accipitur *H*: accipit *B*.

57 revirescent: reviriscant *B*: reviscerent *coni. Citarelli*.

est, hoc est quod dicit: universa nunc metu arida
sunt, si vero Roma nobis propitia sit, omnia
prospera erunt.

57 VITIO siccitate. VITIO AERIS caelum vitiatum
dicit. ARET AGER nunc Thyrsis idest Cornificius de
saevitia persecutionis vel exilii ait, quod nec aer nec
terra fructum det, sed et deos iratos dicit pro ira
Caesaris, quia Mantuani cultores agros amiserunt, quos*
si Caesar restituerit, reddituram eis fecunditatem ait.

58 PAMPINEAS vitium.

58 INVIDIT vites natae non sunt.

59 PHYLLIDIS Phyllis dea* Mantuanorum, vel Caesar
alligorice.

[Folio 17r.]

60 IUPPITER aer, imber.

60 IUPPITER ET LAETO DESCENDET PLURIMUS IMBRI
idest mixti multa* cum pluvia fulgorum* ignes
cadent, quos putabant 'Iuppiter' deum*
significare, nam Iuppiter pro igne solet poni.

61 POPULUS genus arboris. ALCIDAE Herculi. POPULUS
ALCIDAE quia Hercules* populo coronatus descendit ad
infernus.

57 quos *Mueller*: quo B.

59 dea *H*: de B.

60 multa *bene H*: mus B.

60 fulgorum B: fulgurum *scripsit H*.

60 'Iuppiter' deum *scripsi*: int̄ dū B: Iovem *scripsit H*: ego *falsum accusativum suspicor*.

61 Hercules *H*: herculis B.

61 IACCHO idest Baccho, Libero patri, qui putabatur vitem invenisse. POPULUS ALCIDAE ET RELIQUA USQUE LAUREA PHOEBI [64] si pastor loquitur iste sensus est: licet singula quaeque suis inventoribus cara sint, tamen dum mea amica Phyllis corylos amabit, carius aliquid illis esse non poterit; si sub persona pastoris Virgilius loquitur, sensus iste est: licet singuli populi a suis diis amentur, nos 'coryli' (idest Mantuani) a Roma diligimur*, quae quamdiu nos dilexerit, aliquis nobis praeferri non poterit.

62 MYRTUS arbor Veneri consecrata. LAUREA idest laurus arbor. PHOEBO* idest Apollini.

63 PHYLLIS idest Caesar alligorice. CORYLOS Mantuanos*, hoc est: licet hii* dii suos diligant, nos tamen Caesar diligit.

64 MYRTUS quae in tutela Veneris est. CORYLOS tam steriles. NEC MYRTUS VINCET ET RELIQUA alligorice, licet nihil tam sterile quam ager Mantuanorum, favente tamen Caesare nulli fecundiores nobis, quia nullus potentior Caesare.

64 LAUREA PHOEBI quia laurum dilexit Apollo.

61 diligimur *H*: dilimur *B*.

62 PHOEBO *H*: phoeb *B*.

63 Mantuanos *H*: mantuano *B*.

63 hii *B*: hi *H*.

65 FRAXINUS IN SILVIS ET RELIQUA refert arbores quae sunt speciosae, idest fortes et bonos*, sed si Lycidae* idest Cornelii Galli praesentia* contingat sibi, ait infirmiores fore.

65 FRAXINUS IN SILVIS ET CETERA vox est pastoris ad Lycidam puerum dicentis: quamvis singula congruentibus locis pulchra sint, si me, Lycida, visitaveris*, omnibus tu pulchrior eris.
alligorice vel Cornificius hoc dicit de Antonio, vel Virgilius de Caesare sive de Cornelio Gallo.

67 LYCIDA concubina, vel amicus suus.

68 CEDET vilior erit.

69 HAEC MEMINI poeta dicit. HAEC MEMINI haec omnia poeta Virgilius, qui et Corydon, licet sub duali persona, quasi de alio narrans canit. FRUSTRA* CONTENDERE frustra petit amicitiam Caesaris. haec omnia de se dicit poeta quamvis de alio narrans.

69 HAEC MEMINI Virgilius loquitur sub persona Meliboei. VICTUM Thyrsim aut Macrum poetam dicit, ut praedictum est, aut Cornificium a se superatum.

70 EX ILLO CORYDON CORYDON EST TEMPORE NOBIS idest ex tunc nobis Corydon amabilior factus est quam Thyrsis.

65 fortes et bonos: fraxinos et pinos *coni. Citarelli*.

65 Lycidae *H*: licida *B*.

65 praesentia: praesentis *Citarelli*.

65 visitaveris *H*: visitaberis *B*.

69 FRUSTRA: frusta *B*.

ECLOGUE VIII

Haec egloga in honorem Asinii Pollionis vel filii eius
 Salonini scripta est*, ut aiunt, et alligorice Caesaris.
 in hac egloga personae duae veterum pastorum
 historialiter intimandae sunt. hoc genus carminis
 'cenon' vel 'micton'¹ dicitur*. haec egloga 'pharmacies'*
 appellatur.* nam* duae personae introducuntur Damonis et
 Alphesiboei, qui repudiatorum amores narrant. Damon
 amissam queritur* uxorem, Alphesiboeus eius mulieris
 refert actus, quae viro alii dedita fuerat. Damon
 queritur*, Alphesiboeus remedia agit: ille iustum
 amorem* contemptum et sordidum appetitum canit; hic
 veneficia excurrit amoris alterius*, quibus iustum amorem
 nititur disrumpere. Damon puellam, Alphesiboeus puerum
 amat, Iunilius dicit.²

est H: s B.

dicitur *scripsi*: *dict* B: dicunt H.

pharmacies B: *φάρμακίς* H.

haec...appellatur: *hanc glossam Citarelli recte post sequentem transposuit.*

nam B: in hac ecloga H.

queritur H: querit B.

queritur H: querit B.

amorem H: amore B.

alterius: *deterioris coni.* H.

1 'CENON' VEL 'MICTON'. Presumably the Greek terms
 are intended. Hagen, as usual, prints them in Greek
 characters.

2 Cf. Expl. I: PASTORUM MUSAM idest hoc genus
 carminis coenon vel micton dicitur. Haec ecloga
 pharmacis appellatur. Nam duae personae introducuntur,
 Damonis et Alphesiboei, quorum alter amissam queritur
 uxorem orbatus, alter [et] eius mulieris refert actus,
 quae alii viro # amonolio dedita fuerit, alterque

haec egloga inpari numero epigrammatum gaudet.
 haec egloga proprie* bucolicon. haec egloga sive
 in Hispania sive in Gallia canitur, et in agro
 canitur, ut 'inmemor herbarum quos est mirata
 iuvenca'³, Iunilius dicit.⁴ alligorice Damon,
 idest Cornificius, poeta Antonii, amissam
 queritur* Mantuam sub nomine Nysae*.
 Alphesiboeus, qui et Virgilius, sub nomine Daph-
 nidis Augustum insinuat.

1 MUSAM DAMONIS ET ALPHESIBOEI dicemus.

1 DAMONIS Cornificii. ALPHESIBOEI Virgilii; poeta
 autem Virgilius quasi de alio narrans sic incipit dicens
 'pastorum Musam' et reliqua. MUSAM pro carmine. MUSAM
 DAMONIS ET ALPHESIBOEI idest carmen suum et Cornificii
 sub nominibus pastorum.

2 INMEMOR oblita. HERBARUM pastus.

proprie *H*: ppria *B*.
 queritur: querit *B*.
 Nysae: nise *B* ut saepe.

puellam, alter puerum ut puellam amat. Expl. II: hoc
 genus carminis cenon vel micton dicitur. haec egloga
 farmacies appellatur, nam duae formae introducuntur,
 Dammonis et Alphesiboei, quorum alter[am] amissam querit
 uxorem orbatus, alter eius mulieris refert, que a viro
 amonolio dedita fuerit. alterque puellam, alter puerum
 in puellam amat.

3 Verse 2.

4 See the previous note.

2 IUVENCA pro armentis posuit. mira incrementa
varietatis: iuvenca, lynces*, flumina.

3 LYNCEs lupi, cervarioli. LYNCEs ferae Liberi
patris sacris dedicatae, pantheris similes, caudas tamen
graciliores habent.

3 LYNCEs pro omnibus feris.

4 ET MUTATA natura motantia*.

4 FLUMINA pro* carminum dulcedine, sed
alligorice pro auditoribus accipi potest.

5 DICEMUS repetemus.

6 TU MIHI SEU MAGNI SUPERAS ET RELIQUA Asinium
Pollionem petit Salonitarum victorem, qui proprie* non
minus poeticae quam oratoriae vel imperatoriae laudis
avidus fuit. nam et multa carmina et varia poemata
scripsit, unde est illud 'sola Sophocleo'⁵ et reliqua.
huic post victum Antonium apud Perusiam successor datus
est Alphenus* Varus qui iratus Mantuanis agros eorum
parti Cremonensium* iunxit*. causa autem iracundiae haec
fuit: Octavius Musa enim, civis* Mantuanus, idemque
magistratus, cum tributum* ab Augusto fuisset indictum,

2 lynces: lince B.

4 natura motantia: naturam mutantia H.

4 pro: prae scripsit H.

6 proprie: praecipuae coni. H.

6 Alphenus: alfenus B, cf. ad IX. 24.

6 Cremonensium: crimonensium B.

6 iunxit: iuncxit B.

6 civis: cives B.

6 tributum scripsit Mueller: tribunū B.

pecora Vari capta pignori tamdiu in foro clausa tenuit,
 nam Varus possessor Mantuanus erat, donec inedia*
 morerentur. unde molestiam Mantuanis super amittendis
 agris intulit Varus. Virgilio tamen pepercit, quoniam
 condiscipulus eius fuerat. eiusdem autem Vari est
 tragoedia Thyestes omnibus tragicis praeferenda; aliud
 nihil eius legitur. Thyestes nomen artis*, Iunilius
 dicit.⁶

6 inedia *Mueller*: media B.

6 artis: *hic lacunam H. suspic.*

6 Cf. Expl. I: TU MIHI SUPERAS idest Pollionem petit
 Salonitarum victorem. Asinius Pollio prope non minus
 poeticae, quam oratoriae vel imperatoriae laudis avidus
 fuit. Nam et multa carmina et varia arte poematum
 scripsit. Unde illud est, [idest] 'Sophocleo tua carmina
 digna cothurno'. Huic post victum Antonium apud Perusiam
 a Caesare successu datus est Alphenus Varus, qui iratus
 Mantuanis agros eorum perticae Cremonensium iunxit.
 Causa autem iracundiae haec fuit. Octavius Musa, civis
 Mantuanus idemque magistratus, cum tributum ab Augusto
 fuisset indictum, pecora Vari - nam Varus possessor apud
 Mantuanos erat - cuius pecora capta pignori tam diu in
 foro clausa tenuit, donec inedia morerentur. Unde
 molestiam Mantuanis super amittendis agris intulit Varus,
 Virgilio tamen pepercit, quoniam condiscipulus eius
 fuerat. Eiusdem autem Vari est tragoedia Thyestes
 omnibus tragicis praeferenda, aliud nihil eius habetur.
Expl. II: Tu mihi idest ceu magna superas ad saxa Timavi
 idest tragi<c>a carminis mentione efficit ut Pollionem
 credant nominari sed Cornilius Gallus potest existimari,
 quod dicit: 'a te principium, tibi desinit'. nam et
 prima ode de illo loquitur et ultima Pollionem petit,
 Salonitarum victorem. Asinius Pollio prope non minus
 poeticae quam oratoriae vel imperatoriae laudis avidus
 fuit, nam et multa carmina et varia arte poematum
 scripsit. unde illud est: 'sophocleo tua carmina digna
 coturno'. huic post victum Antonium apud Perussiam a
 Caesare successu datus est Alfenus Varus qui iratus
 mantuanis agros eorum pertice cremonensium iunxit. causa
 autem iracundiae haec fuit: Octavus Musa civis mantuanus
 idemque magister erat, cum tributum ab Augusto fuisset
 indictum, pecora Vari. nam Varus possessor apud
 mantuanos erat cuius pecora capta pignori tam diu in foro
 clausa tenuit donec inedia morerentur. unde molestiam
 mantuanis super amittendis agris intulit. Varus

6 TU MIHI ET RELIQUA alligorice Virgilius
tangit Caesarem Octavianum navigantem in
Illyricum*. SUPERAS transgrederis. TIMAVI
locus in quo Antenor condidit civitatem; Timavus
flumen de Rhipaeis* montibus oriens* inter Asiam
et Europam* serpens Maeotidas paludes auget*; vel
Timavus fluvijs est Venetiae magno fonte
exoriens*.

7 ORAM litus. ILLYRICI* Adriatici. LEGIS
consideras vel praeteris, vel LEGIS per liburnas
navigans.*

[Folio 17v.]

7 AEQUORIS maris. EN ERIT optantis vox est.
7-8 EN ERIT UMQUAM ILLE DIES MIHI CUM LICEAT
idest utinam liceat tua facta meis carminibus
digne exponi. hic Pollionem vel Caesarem
alligorice adolatur* et optat ut praesente Caesare
vel Pollione posset eorum facta canere.

6 Illyricum H: ylyricu B.

6 Rhipaeis: ripeis B.

6 oriens: horiens B.

6 Europam: europem B.

6 auget: augit B.

6 exoriens: exhoriens B.

7 ILLYRICI: ilyrici B.

7 ORAM...navigans: *haec omnia repetuntur ad caput dext. marg. f. 17v.*

7-8 adolatur Mueller: addatur B secundum H. sed hodie legi non potest.

Virgilium tamen pepe<r>cit quoniam condiscipulus eius
fuerat.

8 TUA DICERE FACTA expugnationes urbium et
bella.

9 EN ERIT optantis vox. UT LICEAT eadem repetit.

9 TOTUM FERRE PER ORBEM idest divulgare* per
orbem*.

10 SOLA SOPHOCLEO idest sola tua carmina possunt
aequari carminibus quae Sophocles scripsit. is*
enim primus tragoediam composuit.

10 SOPHOCLEO Sophocles poeta tragicus qui primus
tragoediam scripsit, eximiae gravitatis habitus, et ideo
Pollionem huic comparat, quia scripsit Pollio tragoediam*
in* illo tempore, sed Cornelius Gallus potest existimari.
DIGNA similia. SOLA DIGNA hoc est nullus dignus honore
Sophoclis nisi tu.

10 COTHURNO* est* cothurnus genus vestis
praeclari hominis, idest* vel genus calciamenti
utroque pedi conveniens. COTHURNO* carmine*;
pro altitudine carminis posuit; est* proprie
genus calciamenti quo tragoedi utuntur.

11 A TE Pollio. A TE PRINCIPIUM hyperbolice loquitur.
ACCIPE subauditur digne.

9 divulgare: devulgare B.

9 orbem: urbem *Citarelli*.

10 is: his B.

10 tragoediam *H*: tragoedia B.

10 in: *om. H*.

10 COTHURNO: coturno B.

10 est *H*: *§* B.

10 *post* idest *H. lacunam susp.*

10 COTHURNO: quothurno B.

10 carmine *H*: carmini B.

10 est: et *scripsit H*.

11 A TE PRINCIPIUM TIBI DESINET* idest nemo ante
te tragoediam scripsit nec post te scripturus
erat*⁷. utrumque dignitatis est, cum dicit 'a te*
initium' et 'a te finis'. ACCIPE IUSSIS patet
quia aut a Caesare aut a Pollione iussus est hanc
eglogam scribere.

11-12 ACCIPE IUSSIS CARMINA COEPTA TUIS sic loquitur
quasi a Pollione iussus sit ista scribere, quod factum
non est, sed hic sensus est: accipe iussis carmina
coepta tuis, ut desit 'digne', quisquis eris* ab agris
meis recede et haec* in te carmina digne scribam.

12 ATQUE HANC hederam* idest hanc eglogam.
SINE verbum, idest dimitte* inter tuos* triumphos
aut tragoedias et meum poema.

13 INTER VICTRICES ET RELIQUA Asinium Pollionem
significat, qui et poeta fuit, sed quoniam Salonas
devicerat utraque corona dignus fuit, laurum victor,
hederam poeta*, ut 'Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina'⁸,

11 DESINET *H*: desinit *B*.

11 erat: erit *Mueller, H. et al.*

11 a te *H*: ante *B*: cf. *ad III. 27*.

11-12 quisquis eris: quia iusseris *H*.

11-12 post haec *H. (et Citarelli)* 'ego' add.

12 hederam: ederam *B*.

12 dimitte: admitte *Mueller, et H.*

12 tuos *H*: tuo *B*.

13 laurum victor, hederam poeta: lauro ut victor, hedera ut poeta scripsit *H*.

7 ERAT. This is a clear example of the text being altered to suit pre-conceived notions of correctness. I see no good reason to use the future tense. Cf. Expl. I, 'scripturus est'.

8 Ecl. III.86.

Iunilius dicit.⁹ HEDERAM alligorice hoc carmen. INTER LAUROS triumphos, quasi* ad Pollionem et ad Caesarem alligorice dicit.

13 VICTRICES LAUROS quia victores lauro coronantur. SERPERE idest humiliter vel molliter procedere; est autem sensus: permitte, o Auguste vel Pollio, inter laudes triumphorum tuorum meum carmen adesse. hucusque praefatio poetae de se; nunc incipit Damonis texere carmen quem Cornificium vult esse. INTER VICTRICES HEDERAM* ET RELIQUA quoniam solent poetae coronas* hederae habere, quia pallida est, et qui versificantur pallidi sunt; et victores lauro in certaminibus coronantur, quod Asinio Pollioni convenit, qui versificus fuit et inter Dalmatas triumphavit.

14 FRIGIDA VIX CAELO ET RELIQUA quando nox facta est mane* prorumpebat: nunc poeta locum tempusque designat.

13 quasi: quiasi B.

13 HEDERAM *H*: herba B.

13 coronas: coronam *Citarelli*.

14 facta est mane: finierat et male *emend. H*.

9 Cf. Expl. I: INTER VICTRICES LAUROS idest quoniam solent poetae (aedera) coronari, quia pallida est et, qui versificantur, pallidi sunt, victoresque lauro [victrice] in certaminibus coronantur, et Asinium Pollionem significat, qui et poeta fuit, sed, quoniam Salonas devicerat, utraque corona dignus fuit, lauro ut victor, aedera ut poeta, ut ait, 'Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina'. Expl. II: inter victrices idest Asinium Pollionem significat qui et poeta fuit sed quoniam Salonas devicerat utraque corona dignus fuit, laurum victor, ederam poeta, ut ait: 'Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina', quasi dixisset 'laudabo tuum poema et tuam victoriam per totum orbem'.

- 14 FRIGIDA VIX CAELO ET RELIQUA poeta adhuc
loquitur tempus locumque designans, ac si diceret:
cum aliorum opera quasi inmissa luce florescerent,
tunc me de amissa coniuge tenebrae invaserunt.
- 15 CUM ROS IN TENERA HERBA subaudis 'deciderat'.
15 CUM ROS IN TENERA ET RELIQUA alligorice lati-
tudinem triumphii significat.
- 16 INCUMBENS quasi pro* tristitia per se consistere non
valens. TERETI rotundae. OLIVAE arbori vel baculo ex
oliva, ut pastor.
16 DAMON poeta de se dicit. SIC COEPIT OLIVAE
hucusque* tempus et locus.
- 17 Nasco et nascor. NASCERE oriri diem desiderat.
PRAEQUE DIEM VENIENS aut* ante diem veniens, aut diem
praeveniens cito.
17 NASCERE ET RELIQUA alligorice fruiere
iucunditate tua dum ego maerore consumor, o
Caesar. AGE LUCIFER loquitur autem ad Luciferum,
quam stellam* Veneris dicunt, a qua putabant
amorem dari.
- 17 AGE adduc, vehe, quia* metiris diei tempora. ALMUM
lucidum: almus tria genera significat, ut 'lux alma'¹⁰

16 pro B: prae *scripsit* H.
16 hucusque H: hucusq; B.
17 aut H: ut B.
17 stellam H: stella B.
17 quia H: q; B: *add. supra alt. man.*

idest candida, et 'parturit almus ager'¹¹ idest fertilis,
et 'alma parens'¹² idest sancta, Iunilius dicit.¹³

18 INDIGNO inpari. CONIUGIS INDIGNO ET RELIQUA
amatoria vox est, quia a* sua uxore destitutus*.

18 INDIGNO idest magno, ut 'indignas hiemes'¹⁴
idest magnas, Iunilius dicit.¹⁵ ex INDIGNO
AMORE, idest inpari, possimus conicere dignum
amorem, idest parem. DECEPTUS ego.

19 QUEROR adloquor. DUM QUEROR dum querellas facio,
ut Iunilius dicit.¹⁶

19 DIVOS alligorice Caesar vel Pollio.

20 EXTREMA vitae meae scilicet. MORIENS pro*
asperitate exilii vel amoris.

17 parens *H*: parenti *B*.

18 a *scripsi*: ad *B*: *om. H. et erat add.*

18 destitutus: distitutus *B*.

20 pro: prae *emend. H.*

11 Geo. II.330.

12 Aen. II.591.

13 Cf. Expl. I: ALMUM tria significat: 'si lux alma recessit' idest candida; 'parturit almus ager' idest fertilis; 'alma parens' idest sancta. Expl. II: nascere idest oriri diem vult idest veni age diem almu. preveniens Lucifer almu idest tria significat: si lux alma recessit idest candida; parturit almus ager idest fertilis; alma parens idest sancta.

14 Geo. II.373.

15 Both Explanationes are silent.

16 Cf. Expl. I: DUM QUEROR idest adloquor, quamvis alii sint, qui credunt Deos non esse, vel te, inquit, dies, dum queror, quod mihi liberalitate Caesaris destinata praedia alio translata sint.

21 INCIPE MAENALIOS Maenalum eiusque lucos
 laudat et frequentiam pastorum canentium*. versus
 Maenalios vocat, Iunilius dicit.¹⁷ hi versus
 'calares' dicuntur quia subinde repetuntur, et
 ornatus causa per scema hoc facitur, Gaudentius
 dicit. TIBIA stipula, vel TIBIA idest o calami.

21 MAENALIOS Arcadios, hoc est a Maenalo monte
 Arcadiae*. hic sensus est: ut sic possim amorem
 cantare, quasi Pan in Arcadia Nympham cantavit, ut
 praediximus in secunda egloga¹⁸. et hic metalemsis* est
 et ideo tropice vult Pana intellegi quia ipse est
 inventor fistulae pastoralis.

22 ARGUTUM stridolum, ex iteratione resonantis
 reciproce vocis, idest echo.

22 ARGUTUM NEMUS a vento motum. PINOSQUE
 LOQUENTES pro Musis posuit. PINOS alligorice:
 poetas plurimos semper habet.

23 PASTORUM idest Apollinis vel aliorum.
 AMORES querellas.

21 canentium *H*: canentia *B*.

21 a Maenalo monte Arcadiae *Mueller*: amandomte arcadie *B*.

21 metalemsis *B*: metalepsis *H*; cf. ad I. 69.

17 Cf. Expl. I: INCIPE MAENALIOS idest Arcadios a
 Maenalo monte, quod Pan Arcas fistulae inventor est, quae
 fistula convenit pastoralis carmini, et perseverat in
 eisdem, et quia laudavit Maenalum eiusque lucos ac
 frequentiam canentium pastorum, versus Maenalios dicit
 vel vocat. Expl. II: maenalios idest a Menalo monte
 arcadios dicit.

18 Verse 31.

24 PANAQUE accusativus est, idest 'pinosque loquentes'
et Pana* habet. NON PASSUS idest non passum calamos
esse inertes*.

24 INERTES tacentes, sine cantu, vel inhabiles*,
vel non canoros.

26 MOPSO indigno homini. NYSA uxor. hoc pastor dicit
de pastore, cui sua coniunx* nupsit. MOPSO NYSA DATUR
nunc adnotatio incipit usque ad finem: indignatur enim
Nysam Mopso datam et se spretum, Iunilius dicit.¹⁹ QUID
NON SPEREMUS AMANTES idest quando hoc contigit nihil iam
est quod fieri non possit. QUID NON SPEREMUS AMANTES
quia in amore est semper sperare, idest quidem* quod non
semper sperare debemus.

26 MOPSO NYSA DATUR hoc est pastor uxorem suam
pastori alii datam indignatur. Mopsus Atticus
vates fuit, Nysa locus in Asia, et inde alio
ingenio per poetas intellegendum est. MOPSO
alligorice Theocrito* vel Ario centurioni. NYSA

24 Pana *H*: pan B.

24 inertes: inheres B.

24 inhabiles *H*: inhabile B.

26 coniunx: coniux B.

26 quidem: quid est *coni.* *H*.

26 Theocrito: tehocrito B.

19 Cf. Expl. I: MOPSO idest Mopsus fuit antiquus
vates. Mopso ergo Virgilii datur et significat
Theocritum. NISA DATUR idest uxor mea viro indigno vel
homini. Vel NISA locus in Asia, in quo superatus ab
Apolline Marsyas poenas audaciae solvit iudicantibus
Muis. Expl. II: Mopso idest Mopsus atticus vatis fuit;
Mopsi ergo ager Virgilio datur. Nisa idest uxor mea
indigno homini datur. Nisa idest locus in Asia.

ager Virgilii, vel Cornificius de Virgilio dicit,
cui Mantua vel agri redduntur. QUID NON SPEREMUS
ET RELIQUA alligorice, quare non habemus fiduciam,
ut nobis reddantur agri, cum eis qui simile aliud*
fecerunt redditi sint?

27 IUNGENTUR IAM GRYPHES²⁰ EQUIS* haec contra
naturam fiant*. GRYPHES aves ferae* quae sunt in
Scythia, vel animal quod in Hyperboreis locis
nascitur, semper equos* adfectans, sed ad
nocendum, quod rostrum habet et pennas quattuorque
pedes. imago leonis, caput aquilinum, et ungues.
hoc est sicut haec contra naturam sunt, sic contra
veritatem Mopso Nysa datur.

27 GRYPHES animal est in Hyperboreis montibus simile
leoni, alas habens et rostrum* in similitudine aquilae,
equis inimicissimum.

28 CUM CANIBUS ET RELIQUA quod est contra naturam.
TIMIDI pro 'timidae' mutavit* genus ut in Georgicis
'capti talpae'²¹.

26 aliud: aliquid *coni. H.*

27 GRYPHES EQUIS *H:* grifes aequis B.

27 fiant: fiunt *Mueller.*

27 aves ferae *H:* ave fere B.

27 equos: aequos B.

27 rostrum: rustru B.

28 mutavit *H:* mutabit B.

20 GRYPHES. Here I have 'normalized' the spelling
without manuscript authority: the Virgil text (centre
column) reads grypes, while the three marginal occur-
rences are, respectively, grifes, grifes and grippes.

21 Geo. I.183.

28 DAMMAE genus animantium idest caprae.

29 MOPSE NOVAS INCIDE FACES incide scinde; faces incidere iubetur, quia scilicet nuptae ad facem deducebantur. TIBI DUCITUR UXOR pro eo quod est: a te ducitur*; dativus enim pro ablativo positus est.

29 MOPSE NOVAS INCIDE FACES alligorice ad Virgilium respicit. TIBI DUCITUR* UXOR inlicita, superstite eius viro.

30 SPARGE* MARITE NUCES ita enim primo factum est quando Iuno Iovi iuncta* est, ut Homerus,²² et abhinc apud antiquos moris fuit in nuptiis nuces spargere propter veneficia. SPARGE MARITE NUCES Virgilio para laetitiam. TIBI DESERIT in tuum honorem incipit. HESPERUS stella, idest nox adest. OETAM* mons Thessaliae* unde Hesperus oritur idest vesper.

30 SPARGE* MARITE NUCES idest desine iam nucibus ludere, sive quia mos erat in nuptiis nuces spargere*. TIBI DESERIT HESPERUS OETAM* idest dum occiditur Hesperus, tibi relinquit Oetam

29 ducitur *H*: dicit B.
 29 DUCITUR: dicitur B.
 30 SPARGE: spargere B.
 30 iuncta: iunca B.
 30 OETAM: oetham B.
 30 Thessaliae: thesaliae *cum h superscript.* B.
 30 SPARGE: spargite B.
 30 spargere: aspargere B.
 30 OETAM: oetot B.

22 HOMERUS. See the earlier occurrence of this name at VI.18, and note Hagen's suggestion that Verrius Flaccus is intended here.

montem Thessaliae; tuis utilitatibus nox super-
venit; vel TIBI DESERIT sicut alii volunt
oriendo: Hesperus enim et Lucifer idem esse
dicitur. dicitur autem Hesperus Graece, Latine
Vesper.

[Folio 18r.]

32 O DIGNO CONIUNCTA VIRO per ironiam* dicit hoc
deridendo, vel antiquo vocabulo. DUM DESPICIS OMNES dum
enim ipse despicitur, omnes despici putat.

32 difficile est per singula* alligoriam unam
servari, inde considerandum utrum per singula sit
inquirenda alligoria an non, et utrum diversa
alligoria in isdem personis per diversa loca*.

33 DUMQUE TIBI EST ODIO MEA FISTULA idest meum carmen.

33 FISTULA rusticum carmen sive studium humile,
idest patrimonium. DUMQUE CAPELLAE sunt.

CAPELLAE humile patrimonium.

33 DUMQUE CAPELLAE idest meae* divitiae. in amatore
enim tria requiruntur: ut formosus sit, ut dives, ut
bene cantans. haec enim tria in eo sua* amatrix
despexerat.

34 HIRSUTUM pilis hispidum. PROMISSA BARBA
pendens vel inculta.

32 ironiam: hyronia B; *similiter ad V. 8.*

32 singula *Mueller*: singulam B.

32 loca: an non *H. add.*

33 meae: nae *vel nice* B.

33 sua *H*: suco B.

35 NEC CURARE DEUM CREDIS MORTALIA QUEMQUAM deum pro
deorum posuit. dicit hoc minando, idest: non putas quod
dii talia considerant?

35 NEC CURARE DEUM CREDIS MORTALIA QUEMQUAM nisi
verum* istum; sunt enim alii qui non credunt esse
deos.

37 SAEPIBUS IN NOSTRIS non semper superba fuisti.
PARVAM exprobrat veteres suos amores et incongrue dicit
se contemptum. maior iniuria hic* apparet, cum ab
infantia secum fuit, Iunilius dicit.²³

37 SAEPIBUS IN NOSTRIS vel circa saepes, vel
prima coniunctione amoris, vel in nostra vicinia,
quae est maior iniuria: veteres etenim eidem
amores* exprobrat. ROSCIDA rorem habentia*.

38 DUX EGO VESTER ERAM ego vobis ducatum regebam, vel
praecedebam* vos. alligorice capras* suas alloquitur.

38 LEGENTEM* colligentem vel deliciosam.

39 ALTER a duobus alter pro secundo, ut sit tertius
decimus annus. ALTER AB UNDECIMO idest tertium decimum
annum attigeram.

39 TUM* ME IAM ACCEPERAT quando convenimus.

35 verum: *mihi veru legitur; editores alii virum dicunt.*

37 hic: hinc *H.*

37 amores *H:* amor *B.*

37 rorem habentia: rore madentia *emend. H.*

38 praecedebam *H:* precebam *B.*

38 capras *H:* capra *B.*

38 LEGENTEM: *lectio alt. 'elegentem' cerni potest; glossa 'deliciosam' confirmat.*

39 TUM: tu *B.*

23 Cf. Expl. I: ROSCIDA MALA idest rorem habentia.

40 FRAGILES flexibiles. IAM FRAGILES POTERAM tunc ego iuvenis eram.

41 UT VIDI mox, statim. UT PERII idest valde. UT ME idem* quemadmodum. MALUS ABSTULIT* ERROR quia inpar amor et non reciprocus.

41 UT VIDI UT PERII* idest mox, ut te vidi, amore tuo elangui. MALUS ERROR ex malo errore bonum errorem conicimus. MALUS ERROR idest malus amor; putavi enim quod mea esses sed* non amasti*, sed in despectum* me habes*.

43 NUNC SCIO hoc* definitionem* amoris ponit. NUNC SCIO QUID SIT AMOR quam durus vel quare tam durus. DURIS hoc* non de nobis, sed de duris dura, quae non molliuntur, generantur. COTIBUS saxis; cotis fit diminutive* 'coticula'.

44 AUT TMAROS* AUT RHODOPE* edit*. Tmarus et Rhodope montes Thraciae pro habitatoribus* dicit. AUT EXTREMI GARAMANTES populi Africae in extremo mundi constituti.

41 idem: idest *H*.
 41 ABSTULIT: abstullit *B*.
 41 PERII: pueri *B*.
 41 sed *scripsi*: et *B*: set *H*.
 41 amasti: ama..sti *B*.
 41 despectum: dispectum *B*: despectu *H*.
 41 habes: abes *B*.
 43 hoc *B*: hic *H*.
 43 definitionem: difinicionem *B*.
 43 hoc: est *add. H*.
 43 diminutive: deminutivum *H*.
 44 TMAROS *H*: tinaros *B*.
 44 RHODOPE *H*: hrodope *B*.
 44 edit: hedit *B*.
 44 habitatoribus *H*: hebitatorib; *B*.

apud eosdem autem Garamantes coniugia sine intellectu*
haberi, ut Hellanicus* in Corografia* testatur.²⁴

44 AUT EXTREMI GARAMANTES idest populi Africae,
apud quos dicuntur coniugia sine dilectu haberi*.

45 NEC GENERIS NOSTRI NEC SANGUINIS non ex nostris
elementis* generant, idest non ex nostro sanguine*
nascitur. NEC GENERIS NOSTRI mire quasi ex homine natus
sit amor; inhumanum magis, quem* ut ex dea natum et
potentem testatur.

45 PUERUM idest Cupidinem quem et Amorem vocant.
NEC GENERIS NOSTRI PUERUM idest non de nobis sed
de duris rebus et quae non molliuntur* amor gener-
atur. EDUNT generant.

47 SAEVUS AMOR DOCUIT NATORUM SANGUINE MATREM incertum
quam matrem dicit; plures* enim hoc vocabulo* dignae
sunt. nam et Progne, Terei uxor, ab amore Terei filium
suum interfecit. et Medea suos filios propter Iasonem

44 intellectu: delectu *coni.* Mueller: dilectu *H.*

44 ut Hellanicus *scripsi*: &hlanicus B: et Hellanicus *H*: Ethlanus Mueller.

44 corografia: *mihi videtur corografia vel corograsia exstare, sed H. torogrosia reportat.*

44 haberi: aberi B.

45 elementis: helementis B.

45 sanguine B: genere *sine explanatione H.:* Citarelli sequitur.

45 quem: quam Mueller.

45 molliuntur: moliuntur B.

47 plures: pluses B.

47 vocabulo *H*: iucabulo B.

24 No editor has succeeded in identifying this reference.

interfecit sed magis hanc dixisse accipiendum, quae*
damno communis sobolis maritum Iasonem atfecit, Iunilius
dicit.²⁵

47 MATREM Prognem vel Medeam.

49 CRUELIS ET RELIQUA interrogative. MATER Medea,
Aeetae filia, regis Colchorum*. PUER Amor. INPROBUS
inoportunus.

49 CRUELIS MATER Medea, Aeetae* filia. ILLE
Iason qui mortem filiorum petierat; sensus est:
sic me amor docet inepta facere.

49 ILLE PUER idest Iason cuius illa amore compulsa est
filios interficere, vel PUER INPROBUS Amor qui tale
facinus advexerit*.

50 CRUELIS TU QUOQUE MATER omnia haec ad amorem
referuntur crudelem.

52 NUNC ET OVIS ET RELIQUA contrariis miscet adversa,
quibus iniquam coniunctionem Nysae ostendat et Mopsi, et
se despectum esse convenienter probat, Iunilius dicit.²⁶

47 quae: que B: quam *falso Citarelli*.

49 Colchorum: cholchoru B.

49 Aeetae: aete B.

49 advexerit: adduxerit H.

25 Cf. Explanatio II: sevis amor docuit idest amore
Iasonis filios suos trucidavit Media. matrem idest Maiae
aut Prochnam.

26 Cf. Explanatio II: nunc et ovis ultro reliqua haec
mabadoma quod est contra naturam rerum. ne, inquit, fiat
quodquod contra rerum naturam est.

- 52 FUGIAT imperative vel interrogative. NUNC*
 ET OVIS nunc, inquit, fiat quicquid contra rerum
 est naturam, #sensus est quicquid#*.
- 53 MALA fit melum et malum, ut 'melum crebra decerpere
 manu'.
- 53 NARCISSO genus floris. FLOREAT imperative.
- 54 SUDENT imperative. ELECTRA sucinum.
 MYRICAE* genus arboris medicae.
- 54 ELECTRA gemmae sucinae quod genus vitis est,
 quamvis* et nomen talenti est de auro et argento
 conflati.
- [Folio 18v.]
- 55 CERTENT imperative. CYCNIS* cycnus* a canendo.
- 55 ULULAE aves de ululatu* dictae, cuius
 diminutivum est 'ulluccus', sicut Itali dicunt,
 quam avem Galli 'cavannum'*.
- 'ulula' autem dicta
 est a sono propriae vocis. SIT TITYRUS ORPHEUS
 talis poeta qualis Orpheus sit Tityrus.
- 56 ORPHEUS IN SILVIS hic anadiplosis.
- 55 SIT TITYRUS* ORPHEUS Tityrus velut Orpheus
 polleat in carmine; Orpheus enim dicitur cithara
 silvas et saxa movisse.

52 NUNC: nun B.

52 sensus est quicquid: *Mueller lacunam post quicquid statuit: H. om. quicquid et sensus est ad caput glossae post lemma posuit.*

54 MYRICAE: mirice B.

54 quamvis: quā ius B.

55 CYCNIS: cinis B.

55 cycnus: cicnus B.

55 ululatu: ululate B: *sed corr. alt. man.*

55 *post cavannum Mueller add. 'nuncupant'.*

55 TITYRUS: tyrus B.

56 ORPHEUS IN SILVIS quasi pastorem*. INTER
 DELPHINAS* ARION Arion poeta summus et citharoedus,
 Methymnaeus* natione, ab agone recedens in piratas*
 incidit et inpetravit ut sibi eodem habitu* quo in scenam
 introire adsuisset* canere liceat, et cantu cum delphinas
 adlicuisset, in mare se praecipitavit, exceptusque ab eis
 in terram perlatus est: sic et 'Delfineus'*, Iunilius
 dicit.²⁷

56 INTER DELPHINAS ARION quod tamen factum est
 sed pro miraculo. Tityrus velut Arion polleat in
 carmine: dicitur enim Arion cantu citharae*
 delphinas advocasse.

56 pastorem: inter pastores *Mueller et H.*
 56 DELPHINAS *H:* delphianas *B.*
 56 Methymnaeus *H:* methemneus *B.*
 56 piratas *H:* pyrata *B.*
 56 habitu *H:* habitum *B.*
 56 adsuisset: adsuiss& *B.*
 56 'Delfineus' *scripsi:* delfinius *H:* fineus *B.*
 56 cantu citharae *H:* antu cythare *B.*

27 Cf. Expl. I: ARION idest poeta summus. Arion
 Methymnaeus, citharoedus summus, cum in piratas
 incidisset, inpetravit, ut sibi eodem habitu, quo in
 scaenam introire adsuesceret, canere liceret. Cantu cum
 delphinas adlicuisset, in mare se praecipitavit
 exceptusque ab his in terram perlatus est, sicut et
 Phineus, cum incideret in piratas, praemisit sese in mare
 (et) delphines captae amore eius portaverunt eum in
 continentem. Expl. II: Arion idest tragoedus summus ab
 agone recedens, themneus natione, cum in piratas
 incidisset, imminentis mortis dilationem petit et cithara
 letalem neniam cum cecinisset repente <se> proiecit in
 mare. hunc delphinis piscis in dorso acceptum liberavit
 e mari et reddidit patriae.

58 OMNIA VEL MEDIUM FIAT MARE prius diluvium optat,
deinde vel medietatem mundi perire. et omnia, inquit,
confundantur: satius enim mihi est mori quam haec
perpeti.

58 OMNIA etiam profundum. OMNIA VEL MEDIUM
FIAT MARE prius optavit omnia, dein vel medietatem
perire: sunt enim insanientis verba prae amore,
vel indignantis. VIVITE idest valete.

59 PRAECEPTA AERII idest de specula alti montis
praecepta in undas deferar.

59 AERII excelsi. SPECULA DE MONTIS de scopulo
eminenti.

60 DEFERAR* optativo modo. DEFERAR ad mortem.
EXTREMUM HOC MUNUS mortem meam, ut 'nec* moritura tenet
crudeli funere Dido'²⁸; idest, si vis mori*.

60 MORIENTIS HABETO uxor Nysa, vel Mantua.

61 DESINE idest sit finis carminis et vitae, vel
carminis fac finem sicut et vitae.

61 DESINE petit a Musis ut desineret*, quia
postulata non procedebant.

62 HAEC DAMON poetae verbum, quasi dixisset 'haec in
persona eius dixi'.

60 DEFERAR *H*: deferat *B*.

60 nec *H*: ne *B*.

60 si vis: sinis *H*: *Citarelli add.* 'me'.

61 desineret: desinerent *Mueller*.

62 VOS QUAE RESPONDERIT ALPHESIBOEUS quae nunc
dicet.

63 DICITE insinuate, quae possim sub persona mea de eo
cantare. PIERIDES invocat Musas; invocatis namque
Musis incrementum carmini suo tribuit.

63 OMNIA similia. POSSUMUS nisi vos adiuvetis.
NON OMNIA POSSUMUS OMNES sicut et Cicero dixit,
'pauci unum* possunt, utrumque nemo'²⁹.

64 EFFER AQUAM ET CETERA Alpheisiboeus sub persona
uxoris Daphnidis* haec dixit. EFFER uxor* Daphnidis
dicit ad suam ministram, idest praesaga dicit #adamafit
Amaryllis et Amaryllida asyllida ministram# idest
ancillam eius.*

64 AFFER AQUAM uxor dicit ad suam ministram,
quae nititur veneficiis despicientem* se maritum
ad amorem revocare. VITTA sacerdotum infula.

65 VERBENAS genus herbae castissimae, vel ex loco
sancto* sumptae, ut Terentius* et Iunilius³⁰ dicunt; vel
VERBENAS olivae ramos, vel carnes pingues, vel frondes;
nam omnia quae virent 'verbenae' dicuntur.

63 unum: mim B.

64 Daphnidis haec dixit H: daphnidixit haec dixit B.

64 uxor H: vox B.

64 #adamafit...ministram#: 'ad Amaryllidem ministram, idest ancillam eius. FIT
Amaryllis et Amaryllida' rest. H.

64 despicientem H: depiciente B.

65 sancto H: sce B.

65 Terentius: terentius B: cf. *Andria* IV.3.11.

29 Pro Mur. XXII.

30 Cf. Expl. I: VERBENAS idest verbena, genus herbae
castissimae, sumptae, ut ait Terentius, ex ara: 'sume
hinc verbenas tibi'. Expl. II: verbenas idest genus

65 MASCULA fortia, pro masculina. MASCULA*

TURA quae in modum testiculorum sunt.

66 CONIUGIS mariti, idest Daphnidis. SANOS non amantes, nam qui amant aegrotant quasi morbo. AVERTERE ut ament.

66 CONIUGIS ET RELIQUA forsitan et haec alligorice Cleopatrae Antonio iunctae conveniunt, quae Caesarem odibilem habuit. UT MAGICIS SACRIS nunc veneficiis eum* invitat.

67 NIHIL HIC* post sacrificium consecratum*. bene desperanti* sunt carmina necessaria ut vel sic abeat* ad consensum.

67 NIHIL HIC NISI CARMINA DESUNT bene desperanti carmina sunt necessaria ut vel sic ducat ad consensum. DESUNT figurate pro absunt.

68 DUCITE huc. DOMUM idest ad domum meam, sed adverbium. DUCITE ET RELIQUA alligorice Virgilius hoc de Augusti vocatione ad Musam suam audiendam dicit. AB URBE idest Roma. DOMUM Musam vel carmen. DAPHNIM

65 MASCULA: malcula B.

66 eum H: eam B.

67 HIC *correx*i, secundum textum Virg.: hinc B et H et Citarelli.

67 consecratum *scripsi*: confatum B: conflatum H: conlatum Mueller: confectum bene Citarelli.

67 desperanti H: desperanda B.

67 abeat *scripsi*: abieat B: ducat H.

herbe castissime sumpte, ut ait Terrentius: 'ex ara sume hinc verbenas tibi'. vel frondes olive. alii dicunt rosseum quo utebantur antiqui [qui] antequam tus inveniebatur.

amorem* vel Caesarem. DAPHNIM vel genitive* legendum, ut alii, quod sensum commutat. DAPHNIM Virgilius mutavit nomen possessionis suae et eam appellavit Daphnim.

68 DUCITE AB URBE DOMUM idest reducite ab urbe ad domum. DAPHNIM hoc est amatorem suum; alligorice Virgilius loquitur ad sua carmina, ut ab urbe Roma ad suum amorem Caesarem Augustum adtrahant.

69 CARMINA ET RELIQUA idest non solum Daphnim, sed lunam ipsam deducere caelo possunt. VEL saltim. VEL etiam. POSSUNT pro adferunt*. DEDUCERE LUNAM Pana dicunt deduxisse caelo lunam carminibus suis.

69 CARMINA VEL CAELO POSSUNT DEDUCERE LUNAM possunt pro adposuerunt. DEDUCERE LUNAM dicitur enim Pan de caelo lunam carminibus adduxisse.

70 CARMINIBUS veneficiis. CIRCE Solis filia quae fertur veneficiis socios Ulixis in bestias vertisse.

70 SOCIOS MUTAVIT ULIXIS comites eius in sues* conversi sunt. apparet quod #orum constituta# Circe ista* agit maleficia; vel Circe disputatoria erat, et qui adgrediebantur illi illa

68 amorem *scripsi*: amore B: amatorem H.

68 genitive: genitie B.

69 adferunt: potuerunt *scripsit* H.

70 sues H: aues B.

70 ista: iste B.

asserebat: 'tu ursus es, tu canis, quia nihil
scis', et poetae acceperunt quasi vere in feras
verteret.

71 FRIGIDUS nocens, vel quia frigidus morsu* facit.
hic sensus est: licet venenosus sit, tamen frangitur
carmine. haec incantatores faciunt.

71 CANTANDO RUMPITUR dum ei carminibus cantatur.

72 DAPHNIM Daphnis 'laurus' dicitur Latine, unde
putatur Virgilius Daphnim pro sua possessione
posuisse.

73 TERNA hostia quae terna est. TIBI Daphnis. TERNA
novem intellegimus. DIVERSA COLORE TRIPLICI tria alba,
tria rosea, tria nigra.

73 TERNA TIBI HAEC* PRIMUM TRIPLICI DIVERSA
COLORE quae novem sunt, idest alba*, rosea, nigra;
omnia trinum numerum habentia. TRIPLICI DIVERSA
COLORE alligorice varietas carminum.

74 LICIA quasi 'ligia'* per quae ligantur stamina;
bene utitur liciis, quae mentem adolescentem alligant.

74-5 TERQUE HAEC ALTARIA CIRCUM EFFIGIEM* DUCO haec
faciunt malefici facientes veneficia, idest effigiem
amatoris circumferunt*, unam ex ligno, alteram ex luto,

71 morsu: morsus H.

73 HAEC H: hae B.

73 alba H: ab B.

74 'ligia' H: ligna B.

74-5 EFFIGIEM H: figig B.

74-5 circumferunt H: circūfuer B.

tertiam ex cera. HAEC ALTARIA quae* in honorem Augusti consecrata sunt. CIRCUM EFFIGIEM circum imaginem haec veneficia fiant*, quibus ad amorem pervenitur.

74 LICIA quibus iunguntur stamina.

75 DEUS pro omnes dii. INPARE pro impari; par numerus adversis convenit, ut 'quater ipso in limine portae substitit adque utero sonitum quater arma dedere'³¹, quod excidio civitatis convenit; et alibi, 'en quattuor* arae* Neptuno'³², quod arsuris navibus convenit. impari vero numero deus gaudet, Iunilius dicit.³³

77 NECTE nunc ad concubinam suam dicit. TRIBUS NODIS* in augurium. AMARYLLI vocativus casus. AMARYLLI mulier.

77 TERNOS COLORES idest laneos colores.

78 AMARYLLI vocativus casus. ET VENERIS Cupidinis vel Amoris. VENERIS DIC VINCULA* NECTO cum ligare coeperis, amorem te ligare dicito.

74-5 quae H: quem B.

74-5 fiant: fiunt H.

75 quattuor: iiij B.

75 arae: aras B.

77 NODIS: modis B.

78 DIC VINCULA: vincula dic B.

31 Aen. II.243.

32 Aen. V.639.

33 Cf. Expl. I: EFFIGIEM DUCO idest faciunt [male] malefici: effigiem amatoris circumferunt unam luti, aliam ex cera. DEUS idest pro omnibus Diis. IMPARE pro impari. Expl. II: circum effigiem idest hoc faciunt malefici. circumferunt effigiem amatoris. due effigies idest una luto, alia ex cera.

78 VENERIS DIC VINCULA NECTO metro anapestico in
honorem Cupidinis consecrato.

[Folio 19r.]

80 LIMUS UT HIC DURESCIT ET HAEC UT CERA LIQUESCIT
limus Daphnis, nos vero cera. LIMUS terra mollis ex
aqua soluta igni coquitur. hic sensus est: sicut haec
durescunt et liquescunt, sic Caesar mollescat amando nos,
et noster amor in eo durescat.

80 LIMUS UT HIC DURESCIT ET CETERA limus terra
mollis ex aqua soluta igni durescit eodemque igni
solis cera liquescit.

81 IGNI sole.

81 SIC NOSTRO DAPHNIS AMORE subauditur 'durescat
et liquescat'.

82 SPARGE MOLAM inpone laborem. ancillam vel
concupinam alloquitur, vel collegam*. SPARGE MOLAM
fragmenta molae* ut mittas in ignem, vel molere debes cum
ignis ardet.

82 FRAGILIS flexibilis, idest quo possint eum
flectere. BITUMINE bitumen de fulgore nascitur,
quo naves unguntur. BITUMINE quod glutinat* et
ardet, ut glutinetur et ardeat. LAUROS in quam
Daphnis conversa est dum Apollo eam* sequeretur.

82 collegam: colliga B.

82 molae: molle B.

82 glutinat H: glutin& B.

82 Apollo eam H: apolline B.

83 DAPHNIS ME MALUS URIT amore.

83 EGO HANC adversum. IN DAPHNIDE LAURUM idest
uro ut urat eum hoc.

85 DAPHNIM genetivus in forma accusativi. QUALIS CUM
FESSA IUVENCUM eleganter rusticus amorem suum pecoris
amori comparavit, Iunilius dicit.³⁴

85 IUVENCUM taurum. eleganter amatorem* suum
rustica amori pecoris comparavit.

86 QUAERENDO BUCULA sic discurremus quaerentes
Caesarem, ut bucula.

86 BUCULA vacca vel vaccula.

87 PROPTER iuxta. AQUAE RIVUM illum sperans.

87 VIRIDI herbosa. IN ULVA in valle, vel ULVA
herba. hic* sunt parabola de amore.

88 SERAE tardae. NEC MEMINIT DECEDERE sed manere.

89 TENEAT optativo modo. TALIS AMOR TENEAT*
subauditur 'nos' vel 'te'.

89 NEC SIT pro sit*. CURA ablativus vel
nominativus. MEDERI sanare*.

91 EXUVIAS exuviae vestes dictae ab exuendo. EXUVIAS
ET RELIQUA pastor de puero dicit, poeta de collega*,
Medea de fratre suo, Virgilius de Octaviano Caesare, aut

85 amatorem B: amorem *scripsit H.*

87 hic: hae *H.*

89 TALIS AMOR TENEAT: 'illum' *apparet in sinistra parte marginis dext.*

89 pro sit: *lacunam suspicamus.*

89 sanare: sanari B.

91 pastor...collega *rest. H:* pastor de colliga de puero dicit B.

34 Both Explanationes are silent.

mulier de amatore suo dicit.

91 EXUVIAS alligorice, pars agri quae secum
remansit. PERFIDUS malae fidei. PERFIDUS idest
dignus magicis carminibus dum perfidus sit,
Iunilius dicit.³⁵

92 PIGNORA CARA* SUI pignera rerum, pignora filiorum;
licet relictas sit*, cara eius pignora confitetur.

92 LIMINE IN IPSO sub limine depono, idest in
loco sacro vel in templo Vestae.

93 TERRA TIBI MANDO Terra vestra*, dea terrae. hic
sensus est: dona quae dedit mihi tibi do, ut eum ducas
ad me.

93 DEBENT idest reducere haec pignora Daphnim,
ex quibus maiora speravi.

95 HAS HERBAS idest has* artes et haec auguria.

96 MOERIS huius rei peritissimus.

96 MOERIS magus peritissimus in magica arte,
pastor quoque et tutor; hic Virgilius de* magica
arte loquitur.

92 PIGNORA CARA: pignera cera B.

92 licet relictas sit *conieci*: relictus licet B: licet relictas est H.

93 vestra: *ura* B: Vesta *Mueller*.

95 has: as B.

96 de *add.* H.

35 Cf. Expl. I: EXUVIAS idest *indafodh*, idest pellis
serpentis senescentis et in terra silentis inde exuvia
nominatur et deinde exuviae dictae vestes ab exeundo.
EXUVIAS idest Medea dicit de fratre suo et Virgilius de
Octaviano. Expl. II: exuvias idest vestes.

97 HIS EGO SAEPE LUPUM FIERI his herbis. per has
herbas Moeris se lupum faciebat.

97 LUPUM FIERI inter feras ambulantiem. ET SE
CONDERE* SILVIS non agnosci: efficacissima
carmina exemplis ostendit et forsitan per haec
possim deducere te.

98 SAEPE ANIMAS EXCIRE revocabat his herbis* in vitam
animas. EXCIRE commovere.

98 IMIS SEPULCHRIS quia in sepulchris conduntur.

99 SATAS segetes. 'seges' interea et ipsa terra
dicitur et quod continetur.

99 ALIO adverbium. TRADUCERE decipere, a
propria festivitate* remove messes iam in culmum
turgentes.

101 FER effer. FER ministranti dicit, idest uxor.

101 AMARYLLI concubina vel ancilla.

102 TRANSQUE CAPUT* hoc augurium est et veneficia,
quibus ad amorem traxit alios. mos enim apud veteres
fuit auguria semper observari.

102 NEC RESPEXERIS ne forte respicias maiestatem.
HIS veneficiis.

[Folio 19v.]

97 CONDERE: consedere B.

98 herbis: erbis B.

99 festivitate: fertilitate *coni. H.*

102 CAPUT: capud B.

102-3 DAPHNIM ADGREDIAR illi insidiabor. ADGREDIAR
idest carminibus; sicut* hoc dixit quasi adventu eius
quaedam carmina dixerat* dum ille sacrificium despexit.
hoc dicitur Ciceroni ab uxore sua contigisse.

105 ASPICE forsitan ancilla dicit. CORRIPUIT invasit.
[hoc dicitur Ciceroni ab uxore sua contigisse.]

105 TREMULIS crispantibus. ALTARIA altaria
dicuntur et quae continent et quae continentur in
eis*.

106 SPONTE SUA sine igni, subito ex ipsis cineribus
flammae arserunt*.

106 DUM FERRE MOROR ferre, efferre proicienda.
CINIS IPSE tantummodo. BONUM SIT ut bonum sit,
vel credo quod bonum erit.

107 NESCIQ QUID nonne pro gaudio. CERTE verum. HYLAS
nomen canis; convenit hic fieri canem*.

107 IN LIMINE LATRAT canis* latratus prae nimio
gaudio figurat* domini adventum.

108 CREDIMUS verum esse credebam.

108 AN QUI AMANT IPSI SIBI SOMNIA FINGUNT quia
qui amant, quae cupiunt ea vident. FINGUNT idest
sibi somnia fingunt; idest mihi ostensum est, per
hoc augurium vel in somno*.

102-3 sicut B: sic H.

102-3 dixerat: dictura sit *scripsit* H.

105 in eis: *om.* Citarelli.

106 arserunt H: arserint B.

107 canem: canis mentionem *coni.* H.

107 canis: *hoc verbum* H. *sine explan. om.*, et *idem* facit Citarelli.

107 figurat H: figura B.

108 somno: somnio Mueller.

109 PARCITE ET RELIQUA pastor de puero suo, vel Medea de fratre, vel poeta de collega* vel de Caesare haec dicit. PARCITE hic non dixit 'desine'*; qui enim desinit finem facit, qui vero parcit suspendit quod agat*, Iunilius dicit.³⁶

109 PARCITE desinite augurium facere. VENIT quasi dixisset 'scio eum venturum ad nos, cum sic ignis erupit'.

109 collega: colliga B.
 109 desine: desinite H.
 109 agat: agebat H.

36 Again, the Explanationes have nothing to say on this point.

ECLOGUE IX

Virgilius hanc eglogam in honorem amicorum suorum scripsit. hoc genus carminis dramaticon vel mimeticon* dicitur. haec egloga in Gallia canitur vel in Hispania, et in agro canitur, ut 'an quo via ducit in urbem'¹. in hac egloga personae introducuntur quae in pari numero epigrammatum decurrunt. haec egloga proprie bucolicon. in hac egloga personae duorum pastorum in via fortuitu convenientium, et fugientium milites, et alloquium atque consilium habentium, historialiter intimandae sunt, Iunilius dicit.²

in hac egloga Moeris, idest Virgilius, fingit se ad querelas iturum Romam, nam cum Claudio quodam milite communem agrum possidebat, a quo paene fuerat occisus. quidam autem dicunt primitus agros ab Pollione Virgilio redditos; postquam autem Varus successit Pollioni, adempti sunt. hinc Romam pergit, et Cornelius atque Macer illi consilium dant, et* sub quorum persona hanc

mimeticon *H*: meticon *B*.
et: *om. H*.

1 Verse 1.

2 Cf. Expl. I: Lycida Cornelius Gallus, Virgilius Moeris. Dramaticon vel mimeticon. Expl. II: dramaticon vel memeticon. Lucida idest Cornilius Gallus, Moeris idest Virgilius.

eglogam texit. alligorice Lycida Cornelius
Gallus, Moeris Virgilius, vel amicus eius
aequalis* vel Aemilius Macer intellegitur.

1 MOERI vocativus casus. QUO TE MOERI* PEDES
subauditur 'ducunt'. alii dicunt 'Emoris' equus velocis-
simus Saracenorum, quem interdum accipi potest: 'Quod
Emori Pedes', idest utinam quattuor, ut me in urbem cito
veherent ad accusandum Claudium*. hoc tamen non
credendum est.³

1 AN QUO VIA DUCIT interrogative. IN URBEM
forsitan hoc de Gallia dicit.

2 LYCIDA vocativus casus. VIVI vix vivi.

2 PERVENIMUS saepe imus*. ADVENA idest
Claudius*, non ut alii Varum vel Arium centurionem
dicunt.

aequalis *H*: qualis *B*.

1 MOERI: meri *B*.

1 Claudium *H*: gladium *B*.

2 saepe imus: sepe imus *B*: eo pervenimus *coni. H*.

2 Claudius *scripsi*: cladius *B*: Cladius *H*. *hic et semper, quia hoc nomen in codicibus
apparet, excepto in praefatione supra.*

3 EMORIS, EQUUS VELOCISSIMUS SARACENORUM. This
fascinating if somewhat naive gloss makes two things
clear. Firstly, some kind of Virgilian exegesis was
current among early medieval readers, who apparently did
not feel bound to transmit only ancient and authentic
interpretations of the text. Secondly, other readers of
the day had sufficient judgement to reject opinions that
they considered unworthy of acceptance. The quaint
comment on the saracen horse, and the commentator's
rejection of it, may probably be taken as evidence that
Virgilian studies had not petrified (though it must be
conceded that they were not always of a high order). It
is true that there is a reference to 'saraceni' in
Ammianus xiv.4.1, but the likelihood is that we have here
a purely medieval controversy.

3 QUOD NUMQUAM VERITI SUMUS malum inopinatum, ut Dido
'hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem'⁴.

3 POSSESSOR Claudius*. AGELLI vicus Virgilii;
ager agellus.

4 VETERES MIGRATE quoniam repugnare non possumus,
cedimus, Iunilius dicit.⁵

4 COLONI quondam domini, nunc coloni.

5 QUONIAM FORS OMNIA VERSAT alligorice clamor
laetitiae* militaris.

5 FORS fortuna.

6 HOS ILLI Claudio vel Ario; ne ei bene proficiat*.

6 QUOD NEC VERTAT nec veniam mereatur. bene
MITTIMUS HAEDOS pro 'portamus dona'.

7 CERTE tuo* ingenio audieram agros restitutos.

7 QUA SE SUBDUCERE COLLES in proclivium a summo
usque ad imum; hic terminat agrum Virgilii.

8 MOLLIQUE CLIVO ripa Mincii.

8 CLIVO aequae descensionis cursus*.

9 USQUE AD AQUAM Mincii.

3 Claudius *scripsi*: cladius B: *vide supra ad v. 2*.

5 laetitiae: letitiae B: licentiae H. *suspiciatur*.

6 ne...proficiat: NEC BENE ei proficiat H.

7 tuo H: tua B.

8 aequae...cursus *scripsi*: eque discensio vii cursus B: aequae descensionis colles H.

4 Aen. IV.419.

5 Cf. Expl. I: MIGRATE COLONI idest quoniam (repugnare) non possumus, cedimus. COLONI idest quondam domini.

9 ET VETERIS IAM ET RELIQUA idest a lacu usque
ad arborum fines possessiones Virgilii dicit.

FRACTA CACUMINA fagi quia alta franguntur.

10 OMNIA supra scripta loca. CARMINIBUS ac* si
diceret: nonne carminibus agrum suum servavit?

10 VESTRUM SERVASSE MENALCAN hic sensus est:
Menalcan, idest Virgilium, servasse agrum a monte
usque ad aquam et ab aqua usque ad* fagum.

11 AUDIERAS idest reddi. ET FAMA FUIT idest fama
tantum fuit.

11 SED CARMINA TANTUM pro nihilo habentur.

12 VALENT solaciant*. LYCIDA vocativus casus.

12 TELA INTER MARTIA idest inter vim militarem,
hoc est tumultum Vari vel Claudii.

13 CHAONIAS idest de nemoris nomine quod est in Epiro,
vel Chaonia regio in Epiro.

13 DICUNT valere. CHAONIAS COLUMBAS Dodonenses
quia ibi a quercu per ipsas responsa dabantur.

14 QUOD NISI ME subauditur 'dico'. QUOD NISI ME idest
nisi praescirem auguriando. NOVAS inauditas. INCIDERE
devitare.

14 QUACUMQUE quoquomodo. LITES militares
lites*, vel LITES Claudii vel Vari de agro
communi, qui volebat Virgilium occidere.

10 ac: hac B.

10 ad *supplevi*.

12 solaciant B: *H. sauciant suspicatur*.

14 lites: *om. editores priores*.

[Folio 20r.]

15 SINISTRA quattuor genera augurii: antica, postica, sinistra, dextra.

15 CORNIX avis* quae cantare* solet
auguriantibus.

16 NEC TUUS amicus. MOERIS Macer.

16 NEC VIVERET IPSE MENALCAS quia paene occisus
est Virgilius.

17 HEU interiectio dolentis. CADIT congruit. HEU
CADIT IN QUEMQUAM TANTUM SCELUS ut occideret* Virgilium.

18 SOLACIA Macer*, vel carmina rapta essent. MENALCA
Virgili.

18 SOLACIA RAPTA solacia carminum rapta a nobis
essent.

19 CANERET cantaret. QUIS CANERET NYMPHAS quis
bucolica faceret? subauditur 'nemo'. HUMUM per
carmina.

19 QUIS HUMUM Georgicon agriculturam
#tenentem#*.

20 AUT VIRIDI FONTES INDUCERET UMBRA arbores
fontibus.

15 avis: aves B.

15 cantare: cantar& B.

17 occideret: occiderit B.

18 Macer *scripsi*: macrus B: tecum *coni. H*: fortasse 'carminum' legendum; cf. *Expl. I* - 'SOLATIA carminum RAPTA a nobis'.

19 tenentem: caneret *coni. H*.

21 SUBLEGI subduxi. VEL QUAE SUBLEGI hoc Cornelius ad Macrum de Virgilio dicit. hic sensus est: has ipsas odas quas* tibi recitavi cum Romam inires*, Iunilius dicit.⁶

22 CUM TE o Menalca, idest Virgili. 'Amaryllidas' metri causa excluditur. AMARYLLIDA concubina amborum, idest Virgilii et Lycidae, vel Roma.

22 AD DELICIAS NOSTRAS Romanas; nostrae deliciae sunt successus Romanorum.

23 TITYRE qui oves pascit 'tityrus' est. TITYRE ad aliquam* suorum dicit. hoc est, #hos tres versus imperi huius Virgilius mandat alicui suorum, si cantet Lycida, idest Cornelius*#.

23 DUM REDEO BREVIS EST VIA PASCE CAPELLAS Virgilius loquitur ad pastorem: non abfuturus* sum longe.

21 quas: *om. Mueller.*

21 inires *scripsi*: inies B: ires *H.*

23 aliquam: aliquem *H.*

23 hos tres versus...Cornelius: *H. sic callide construit*: 'hos tres versus ex persona Virgilii cantat Lycida, idest Cornelius. imperium ovium Virgilius mandat alicui suorum'.

23 abfuturus *H*: affuturus B: *cf. Expl. I - 'BREVIS EST VIA idest non longe afuturus sum'.*

6 Cf. Expl. I: VEL QUAE SUBLEGI idest subduxi, vel has ipsas odas, quas tibi recitavi, cum Romam venires. (Monet), ne asperiores reddat Varum, a quo ipse, cum per carbonarias (fugeret, necdum liberatus est). Expl. II: que sublegi idest subduxi. carmina nuper idest vel has ipsas odas tibi quas recitavi, cum Romam venires.

24 ET POTUM ad potandum. ET POTUM PASTAS AGE monet ne quid contra Alphenum Varum divisorem agrorum faciat, ne asperiores reddat, quia necdum per huius Vari seu Tuccae intercessionem liberatus est, cum per carbonarias* fugeret, Iunilius dicit.⁷

24 ET INTER AGENDUM quasi iter dum agis.

25 CAPRO militi.

25 CORNU gladio. CORNU FERIT ILLE CAVETO militem cave; gladio enim tangit. transfigurate loquitur.

26 IMMO quasi alius*, se occiso, hoc cantaret et hos tres versus, ut priores, de se ipso cantavit. HAEC carmina.

26 NECDUM PERFECTA scripta sed mediocria*. CANEBAT Menalcas.

27 VARE TUUM NOMEN commemoratio Vari.

27 SUPERET imperative. TUUM NOMEN SUPERET MODO MANTUA NOBIS excellentior nobis Mantua, sed sicut Mantuae sic tuum nomen et nobis claret.

28 MANTUA VAE subauditur 'tibi'.

29 CANTANTES CYCNI alligorice poetas Mantuanos dicit, qui quasi cycni cantantes* 'Mantua vae' et

24 carbonarias *Mueller*: cardinarias B.

26 alius: alios B.

26 mediocria *scripsi*: mediata B (*et H.*): meditata *Mueller*: dimidiata *Citarelli*.

29 cantantes: cantant H.

7 Cf. Expl. I: ET POTUM idest ad potandum. Expl. II: potum idest ad potandum.

reliqua*, qui acti sunt de paludibus, idest de agris suis, quando Cremonenses contra Augustum Antonii copias suscepunt* et agros eorum dividi iussit Caesar, cuius mali partem inique perpessi sunt Mantuani. vis enim regni fecit indignationem poetis, inde alligorice per pastorum decem colloquia poeta lamentatur. hucusque Isidorus⁸ dicit.

29 SUBLIME FERENT nomen Vari, alligorice Caesaris.

CYCNI poetae Mantuani.

30 GRYNEAS Corsicas, Iunilius dicit.⁹ EXAMINA apes.

FUGIANT EXAMINA TAXOS hic ostendit habitatores Mantuae fugisse ab ea sicut apes effugiunt taxos.

29 'Mantua vae' et reliqua: *haec verba H ad* Quando Cremonenses transposuit.
29 suscepunt: suscipe B.

8 An unequivocal instance of the influence of Isidore - or rather the occurrence of his name. The reader is referred back to the discussion in Chapter Three, and to both Ó Cuív (1981) and Hillgarth (1984) for the view that Isidore's influence was felt in Ireland before it reached England and Gaul. Cf. *ad Ecl.* III.111. As to the present gloss itself, Isidore observes that 'cygnus autem a canendo est appellatus' and so on (*Etym.* XII.vii.18), but says nothing elsewhere so far as I can discern that is germane to the subject.

9 Cf. *Expl. I*: CYGNI idest poetae. CYRNEAS idest Corsicas, insula in mari Tyrrheno. Hic ostendit habitatores Mantuae fugisse ab ea causa libertatis, sicut apes fugiunt (taxos). EXAMINA sathi. TAXOS idest fer idest arbor amarus flores habens, et mel amarum apes inde colligunt. *Expl. II*: cygni idest poetae. sic tua girnias fugiant idest hic ostendit habitatores Mantuae fugisse ab ea sicut apes effugiunt taxos girnias. taxos idest arbores flores habentes et mel amarum apes inde collegunt.

- 30 TAXOS arbor apibus venenata amaros flores
habens et mel amarum, vel animalia suilla* quae
offendunt apes.
- 31 CYTISO genus herbae vaccis odiosae.
31 DISTENDANT devitant*.10
32 ET ME FECERE idest cum erraret* in monte, ut
alii. POETAM propter ingenium.
- 33 PIERIDES Musae. #muse dic ut venipa##
- 35 NAM NEQUE ADHUC idest nec* talis sum qualem
promiserunt.
35 VARO ET CINNA ablativi casus; Cinna optimus
poeta Antonii qui et 'Anser' nominatus est vel qui
avis nomine dicitur.
- 36 ARGUTOS canoros.
36 ARGUTOS INTER ANSER OLORES inter olores
canoros anser.
37 VOLUTO cogito.
- 38 MEMINISSE cantare.

30 suilla: suilia B.

31 devitant: dilatent *scripsit H.*

32 erraret: errarem *H.*

33 muse...venipa: *scripsit alt. man.*

35 nec B: necdum *H.*

10 DEVITANT. I hesitate to adopt Hagen's clever conjecture dilatent, because I do not believe that there are sufficient grounds to rule out the possibility that an original note read something like 'quia mulctra devitant'. It may not be a profound observation, but profundity is not a realistic expectation in dealing with these commentaries.

38 CARMEN Lycidae.¹¹

[Folio 20v.]

39 QUIS EST NAM magnus ludus; canit maris
diversa*, et hoc in honorem Mantuae dixit.

39 HUC ADES hic allocutio est. HUC ADES O GALATEA hos
quinque versus Macer ex persona Virgilii dicit, vel
Tucca. Nympham ad se vocat. GALATEA filia* quam
Cyclops Polyphemus* adamavit, quae alligorice Mantuam
significat, vel Polyphemus* eam vocat historialiter.

40 HIC VER ET RELIQUA ingentia munera promittit.

40 PURPUREUM florens. HIC FLUMINA CIRCUM
hyperbaton*. HIC anastrophe est.*

41 HINC CANDIDA POPULUS ANTRO* adiuncta Mincio, ut
'populus in fluviis'*.

42 LENTAE flexibiles.

43 HUC ADES o Galatea. INSANI rapidi, magni.

39 canit maris diversa H: cantauris diversa B.

39 filia: H. 'Nerei' add.

39 Cyclops Polyphemus: cyclops pholiphemus B.

39 Polyphemus: pholiphemus B.

40 hyperbaton: ypbaton B.

40 HIC FLUMINA...anastrophe est *scripsit* H.: hic flumina circum hic ypbaton
anastrophe est B.

41 ANTRO: atro B.

41 *populus* B: 'in fluviis': *supplevit* H. de Ecl. VII.66.

11 MEMINISSE CANTARE...CARMEN LYCIDAE. Hagen and Citarelli unite these two glosses from opposite columns and print them as a single comment. There is a lot of space in this folio, and the scribe would have been perfectly able to write both glosses together if they belonged together. This is a particularly clear and simple instance of an editorial policy which viewed the Scholia Bernensia as a single creation to be recovered by textual criticism.

43 SINE imperative, idest sine locum tuum, vel
sine hic esse.

44 QUID idest et cetera carmina, hoc est sive ob inter-
itum Salonini, sive ob iacturam* civium tuorum.

44 PURA splendida, candida*.

46 DAPHNI vocativus o Caesar. hos quoque quinque
versus Gallus ex persona Virgilii canit, sicut alios
priores.

46 DAPHNI QUID ANTIQUOS ET RELIQUA hic sensus
est: o Caesar, quid antiqua regna consideras quia
nullus tibi comparabitur? SUSPICIS consideras,
idest susum aspicias.

47 DIONAEI a Dione, Veneris filia, ex qua Caesar
originem ducere gloriabatur*.

47 PROCESSIT imperare coepit. ASTRUM PROCESSIT
hic astrologiam tangit quia quaedam astra cum
regni principio oriuntur, ut dicunt astrologi.
ASTRUM regnum imperium.

47-8 CAESARIS ASTRUM ASTRUM QUO SEGETES hic anadiplosis
est. ASTRUM Gai Caesaris qui instituerat heredem
imperii. SEGETES arva. GAUDERENT FRUGIBUS turgent,
maturae fiunt.

48 QUO SEGETES GAUDERENT FRUGIBUS ET RELIQUA
regnum Caesaris laudat, in quo omnia bona futura
sint.

44 iacturam *H*: iecturam *B*.

44 candida *Mueller*: canda *B*.

47 gloriabatur: gloriebatur *B*.

49 DUCERET acciperet. APRICIS calidis.

50 DAPHNI o Caesar. INSERE PIROS ET RELIQUA nunc
Caesarem monet de statu regni, indicans quod nepotibus
proficiet; vel longaevus eris ut videas nepotes tuos.

51 OMNIA FERT haeret verbo Lycidae, 'incipi si quid
habes'¹², et nunc dicit se non posse cantare propter
imminens* periculum.

51 AETAS* iuventus. ANIMUM fortem.

52 CANTANDO carmina. PUERUM Daphnim idest Caesarem.

52 MEMINI ME CONDERE SOLES tota die canebar.

LONGOS CONDERE SOLES dies finire magnos*.

53 NUNC OBLITA MIHI TOT CARMINA impossibilia sunt prae
gravi periculo eminenti*.

53 VOX QUOQUE ET RELIQUA hic rusticam fabulam
tangit, quia vox pastoris obruitur si prius eum
lupus viderit quam ille lupum, ac* si dicit: non
possum cantare quia me tempestates obruunt.

55 SED TAMEN ISTA SATIS REFERET* alligorice haec
pericula vel quae possim cantare.

55 TIBI Lycida. MENALCAS sive Virgilius sive
amicus eius.

56 CAUSANDO causas diversas nectendo.

51 imminens *H*: eminens *B*.

51 AETAS: ha&as *B*.

52 magnos: magnus *B*.

53 eminenti: imminenti *Mueller*.

53 ac: hac *B*.

55 REFERET: refert *B*.

56 IN LONGUM per longum. DUCIS AMORES* recusas
cantare*.

57 ET NUNC OMNE TIBI ET RELIQUA nunc obicit suavitates
plurimas pro quibus cantare debeat et dicit omnia velle
audire.

57 STRATUM* quietum.

59 MEDIA ad urbem.

60 BIANORIS Bianor filius Tusci* qui et ipse
Mantuum condidit, animo et corpore fortissimus
agricola, inde Bianor dictus est. sed postea deus
erat. hoc est: forsitan adiuvet* cantantem.

61 AGRICOLAE STRINGUNT FRONDES hic sacrificant ut*
adiuventur, vel tecta sibi faciunt.

61 HIC MOERI CANAMUS invicem nos
delectemus*. CANAMUS subauditur 'ut adiuvemur'.

62 TAMEN VENIEMUS IN URBEM licet bonum sit hic,
tamen eamus in urbem.

62 HIC HAEDOS DEPONE alligorice versus canta.

[Folio 21r.]

63 PLUVIAM NE COLLIGAT ANTE VEREMUR imminentem pluviam.

63 PLUVIAM tempestatem; alligorice periculum.

64 LICET USQUE iugiter.

64 MINUS non.

56 AMORES: amore B.

56 cantare: cantar& B.

57 STRATUM: stractum B.

60 Tusci *Expl. I, II, Serv.*: tucci B.

60 adiuvet: *hic H. 'te' add.*

61 ut *H.*: et B.

61 delectemus *Mueller*: deleremus B.

65 HOC TE FASCE LEVABO hic sensus est: non
debes laborare in cantando.

65 FASCE onere. LEVABO exultabo*, relevabo, levio-
riorem reddam.

66 PUER Lycida.

66 AGAMUS ambulemus.

67 IPSE Daphnis idest Caesar.

67 CANEMUS futuro tempore canemus, quia non nunc
possum cantare pro gravitate periculi, sed
praesente illo melius cantabo*.

65 exultabo B: exuam H.: exaltabo Citarcelli.
67 cantabo Mueller et Funaioli: cantando B.

ECLOGUE X

Haec* egloga in honorem G. Cornelii Galli, amici Virgilii, scripta est, de quo Eusebius*¹ dicit: 'G. Asinius Gallus orator, Asinii Pollionis filius, de quo Virgilius meminit'. haec egloga quibusdam in Arcadia posita videtur ideo quia dicit, 'pinifer* illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem / Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycae'2.

in hac egloga solus poeta loquitur. haec egloga non proprie bucolicon. hoc genus carminis exegeticon* dicitur vel epangelticon, Iunilius dicit.³ haec egloga in agro canitur, ut 'dum

Haec: hac B.
Eusebius H: Eus B.
pinifer: pinnifer B.
exegeticon: exigiticon B.

1 Müller reads this as a reference to Isidore, rather than Eusebius, which seems scarcely justified. Cf. ad Ecl. III.111 and IX.29 for apparently authentic references to Isidore. Presumably the reference is to Jerome Ol. 198. 2, and Hagen thinks it belongs more properly to Ecl. IV.

2 Verses 14-15.

3Cf. Expl. I: Ad Gallum Cornelium et Volumniam Thecidem meretricem, quam Lycoridem dicit. Exegeticon dicitur vel epangelticon. In honorem Galli, amici Virgilii. Expl. II: ad Gallum Cornilium et Volumniam Thecidem meretricem quam L<ic>oridam dicit. exegiticon dicitur vel epangesticon. in honorem Galli amici Virgilii.

tenera adtendent simae* virgulta capellae'⁴. in
 hac egloga tantum ordo ostenditur dicendo
 'extremum'⁵, tamen per hoc conicere possumus natu-
 ralem ordinem in his esse. poeta hanc eglogam* de
 zelo cum laude* ad Gallum canit. hic titulus*
 alligorice loquitur.⁶

CUM GALLO hic est Gaius Asinius Gallus orator, Asinii
 Pollionis <filius>*.

1 ARETHUSA Nympha, dea carminis.

simae: simeae B.
 eglogam: egloga B.
 laude: *post hoc H. suspicatur 'Lycoridis' excidisse.*
 titulus H: tylus B.
 <filius> *add. H.*

4 Verse 7.

5 Verse 1.

6 HIC TITULUS ALLIGORICE LOQUITUR. Immediately before this sentence, Hagen (followed, as so frequently, by Citarelli) included within the text of the glosses the matter which is in fact the title to the Eclogue as written in the central column of the manuscript. The title reads: INCIPIT EGLOGA DECIMA DE DESIDERIO GALLI CIRCA VOLUMINIAM CUTHCIDEM MERETRICEM QUM LICORIDEM DICIT CONQUESTIO CUM GALLO DE AGRIS. This title is written in the same hand as, and is of similar character to, those which introduce each of the other Eclogues, which Hagen has not included among the Scholia. It is difficult to understand why he has accorded these words such special treatment, though I suppose the reason is that HIC TITULUS ALLIGORICE LOQUITUR (which is written as a scholium in the right column) apparently alludes to them. In fact we have here another piece of evidence that commentaries were in flux: this particular scholium is not a piece of ancient wisdom, but demonstrates clearly that the scholiast was composing and assembling his collection of glosses as he went! Hagen would be unlikely to admit this possibility, and strove for internal consistency by treating the modern title as if it were a misplaced part of a supposed original collection.

- 2 GALLO poeta Antonii. SED antiquo vocabulo.
- 2 LYCORIS* provincia, vel meretrix quam Gallus
adamavit, quae contempto eo Caesarem est secuta.
- 3 NEGET interrogative. QUIS CARMINA GALLO
meritis eius.
- 4 LABERE pro laberis, idest curris*. SICANOS
sicilicos*
- 5 DORIS fluvius. DORIS mater Nympharum et maritima
Nympha. ex nomine itaque eius mare appellatur, quia et
aqua eius amarior est mari. hic sensus est: non te
impediat ullus, neque mare sub quod fluis, quia tu scis
quid sit amor, dum non* adiuves me cantantem de amore.
vel ad Caesarem et Virgilium intellegenda sunt.
- 5 AMARA salsa. UNDAM aquam marinam.
- 6 INCIPE semet ipsum imperat, vel Lycidam.
- 7 ATTONDENT pascuntur.
- 7 SIMAE presso naso, ut #sime vel sime Grecum#, idest
capellae.
- [Folio 21v.]
- 8 RESPONDENT OMNIA SILVAE montes enim
reciprocam* emittunt ex echo vocem. hucusque
praefatio.
- 9 QUAE NEMORA invocatio; hinc incipit narratio.

2 LYCORIS: liquoris B.

4 curris: curres H.

4 sicilicos *scripsi*: sycilicos B: Siculos H.

5 non: n B: modo H.

8 reciprocam H: reciprocania B.

10 NAIDES Nymphae fontium si simpliciter; si proprie Oreades*, idest Nymphae montium*. hoc est, ubi fuistis non me adiuvantes?⁷ alligorice vel Gallum.

10 INDIGNO magno, hoc est inpari, quia amans contemnebatur.

11 PARNASI mons Thessaliae.

11 NAM NEQUE PARNASI ET RELIQUA haec omnia alligorice pro Nymphis in eis habitantibus dicuntur, vel auditoribus considentibus*.

PINDI Pindus mons Thessaliae.

12 AONIAE mons Boeotiae. AGANIPPE mons Thraciae*.

13 MYRICAIE genus fruticis parvae*.

14 SOLA deserta. SOLA SUB RUPE IACENTEM prae nimio amore contemptu atque odio hominum captum in solitariis locis iacentem.

15 MAENALUS mons Arcadiae. GELIDI frigidi.

15 LYCAEI mons Arcadiae.

16 OVES auditores alligorice. NEC PAENITET ILLAS aliter non consulabantur* te, pastor, vel de se si Gallus, vel Gallum si amens erat*.

10 Oreades: oriades B.

10 montium *Mueller et H.*: fontium B.

11 considentibus *conieci*: considerantib; B: consolantibus *scripsit H.*

12 mons Thraciae: fons tratiae B: *post hoc H. (et Citarelli)* Iunilius dicit *nescio quo modo addunt.*

13 fruticis parvae: fruticis parve B.

16 consulabantur: consolabantur *H.*: consulabant B.

16 vel de se...amens erat: vel de se, vel Gallum, si Gallus amens erat *H.*

7 FUISTIS...ADIUVANTES. Clearly a medieval Latin construction, and not a piece of authentic post-classical commentary.

17 NEC TE PAENITEAT alligorice, non erubescas* bucolica scribere.

17 PECORIS poematis. DIVINE POETA Gallus optimus* poeta fuit.

18 ADONIS pastor vel aliquis poeta.

19 OPILIO opiliones dicuntur haedorum pastores, vel opiliones magistri ovium dicuntur, Iunilius dicit.⁸

19 VENERE venerunt. TARDI VENERE SUBULCI pastores porcorum, ideo tardi dicuntur quia aliter porci non pascuntur nisi radicitus herbam* effodiant.

20 UVIDUS pinguis sucus intrinsecus unde uvae dictae sunt, vel UVIDUS quasi uvis* pendentibus glandis⁹ ex quercu coronatus.

20 HIBERNA DE GLANDE quia hiemis tempore glandes maturae fiunt. MENALCAS Virgilius.

[Folio 22r.]

17 erubescas *H* (et *Expl. I* et *II*): erubescas B.

17 optimus: obtimus B.

19 radicitus herbam *H*: radicitur aerbam B.

20 uvis: uius B.

8 Cf. *Expl. I*: (OPILIO idest) opiliones dicuntur ovium et pastores haedorum. *Expl. II*: opilio idest opyliones dicuntur magistri ovium.

9 GLANDIS. I have retained this form (which I take to be an ablative plural), preferring not to follow Hagen and the other editors in normalizing to 'glandibus'. If one accepts the hypothesis that the commentaries are, so to speak, living organisms, then one must also allow the possibility of 'vernacular', subliterate or local Latin forms, another good example of which is the almost universal occurrence of 'alligorice'.

- 21 ROGANT interrogant. TIBI VENIT etiam.
 21 APOLLO se ipsum vel Caesarem.
- 22 GALLE QUID INSANIS sive canendo sive amando.
 22 CURA amor, ut 'saucia cura'¹⁰. TUA CURA
 LYCORIS inrisorie* dicitur.
 23 ALIUM Antonium.
- 23 HORRIDA CASTRA castra bella, ideo autem horrida quia
 cum Augusto Caesare bella civilia fecit.
- 24 AGRESTI cano*. SILVANUS deus silvarum, vel pro
 Nymphis.
- 25 FLORENTIS virides frondentes. FERULAS genus herbae
 vel virga cava de herbis nascens. LILIA quae fiunt in
 ipsis ferulis.
- 25 GRANDIA longa.
- 26 QUEM VIDIMUS IPSI solent enim numina se
 offerre rusticis.
- 27 SANGUINEIS rubeis. EBULI flos, vel ebulum genus
 herbae. SANGUINEIS BACIS quia grana ipsa nigra sunt
 foris, sucus autem rubeus, ex quo venenum est; ideo
 dixit 'bacis sanguineis'. MINIO coloribus*.
- 28 ECQUIS* ERIT 'ec' increpantis adverbium. MODUS
 amanti.

22 LYCORIS inrisorie: licoris inrisoriae B.

24 cano: rusticano *H. callide sed non probabiliter.*

27 coloribus: colore rubro *scripsit H.*

28 ECQUIS: haecquis B.

10 Aen. IV.1.

28 INQUID Gallus. AMOR NON TALIA CURAT non
flectitur maeroribus; quasi expertus loquitur.

29 NEC LACRIMIS CRUDELIS AMOR satiatur; quantascumque
enim lacrimas fuderit* amans, tanto amor extitit*
amplior.

29 NEC GRAMINA RIVIS hyperbolice loquitur.

31 TRISTIS verum tristis amator*. ILLE Virgilius vel
Gallus.

31 TAMEN CANTABITIS de se dicit. 'tamen' alii
superioribus iungunt, sed melius ut sic legamus.
TAMEN CANTABITIS* sensus enim hic est: licet ego
duro amore consumar, tamen erit solacium, quia
meus amor erit vestra cantilena. INQUIT Gallus.

[Folio 22v.]

33 TUM tunc; tunc possim requiescere, si vos voluis-
setis de amore cantare.

33 QUAM postquam. MOLLITER OSSA QUIESCANT
pronuntiat* se moriturum. QUIESCANT sedantur.

34 OLIM aliquando; 'olim' tria tempora continet.

35 ATQUE UTINAM EX VOBIS pastoribus.

35 VESTRIQUE FUISSEM melius mihi vobiscum esse*.

29 fuderit *H*: fuerit *B*.

29 amor extitit *H*: amore extetit *B*.

31 amator *H*: amator *B*.

31 CANTABITIS: cantabis *B*.

33 pronuntiat: pnunciat *B*.

35 esse: ee *B secundum me*: *H. dicit se eet videre*.

36 AUT CUSTOS GREGIS ut rusticanam vitam colerem*, ac*
si dicat 'quid mihi cum urbibus ubi sunt meretrices tam
pulchrae quam perfidae?'

36 MATURAE VINITOR UVAE custos vinearum.

37 PHYLLIS Roma. AMYNTAS Caesar.

38 SEU QUICUMQUE FUROR aliquis amicorum furor; omnis
enim amor plenus est furoris. tuum carmen, tuum o
Mantua.* SI FUSCUS AMYNTAS licet aliis nocivus, tamen
mihi bonus.

39 ET NIGRAE VIOLAE SUNT successus rerum mihi habundat.

40 SUB VITE sub rupe. LENTA SUB VITE IACERET
alligorice, de vitibus cantantem* audiret.

41 SERTA flores. PHYLLIS mollis lentaque* manibus, et
digitis suis.

41 CANTARET AMYNTAS me cantare fecisset.

42 HIC GELIDI FONTES ET RELIQUA invasit amor eius
animum et quasi ad praesentem loquitur, ac* si dicat,
'quid te adiuvat inter frigora esse?' Gallus nunc multa
enumerat* bona quibus adducat concubinam; alligorice
Virgilius Caesarem.

43 TECUM CONSUMERER AEVO idest tecum essem usque
ad mortem.

36 colerem *H*: colorem *B*.

36 ac: hac *B*.

38 tuum carmen...Mantua: *expunxit H*.

40 post cantantem *Citarelli* me *add*.

41 mollis lentaque: mollibus lentisque *Citarelli*: *H. obelis signat*.

42 ac: hac *B*.

42 enumerat *H*: enim erat *B*.

44 INSANUS AMOR ET RELIQUA idest nunc morior pro amore tuo, quia neque per absentiam discedit.

44 INSANUS AMOR quia omnis amor plenus est furoris. hinc usque in finem amatoris inconstantia exprimitur.

45 ADVERSOS* infestos. HOSTES bellicosos.

[Folio 23r.]

46 TU o Phyllis vel Lycoris. TU PROCUL cum moriturus ero*.

46 A PATRIA subauditur 'recessisti'. idest* ut tu* longe discessisses.*

47 ALPINAS* montanas* vel Mantuanas*.

47 A interiectio dolentis. RHENI* fluvius Europae.

48 SINE imperative. ME SINE idest relinque, o amor, ne fatigatus fueris. SOLA VIDES tunc vides.

48 A interiectio dolentis.

49 A TIBI NE TENERAS GLACIES SECET ASPERA PLANTAS etiamsi spretus a te, tamen sollicitus sum ne quid mali* sustineas.

49 ASPERA frigida.

45 ADVERSOS: adversus B.

46 ero B: eo H.

46 idest *scripsi*: i. B.

46 tu *scripsi*: tum B.

46 idest ut...discessisses: *scripsit alt. man. pallidiore atramento; omnino om. H.*

47 ALPINAS: alphas B.

47 montanas: montana B.

47 Mantuanas: mantuans *sed corr. alt. man.*

47 RHENI: reni B.

49 mali *Mueller*: mari B: amari H.

50 IBO dimittam te. CHALCIDICO* heroico, Homérico,
Euboico. Chalcis* civitas in Euboea* in qua Euphorion*,
quem transtulit Gallus. hic sensus est: tamen cantare
potuero, cum non inpedies me, et tunc scribam Theocriteo*
stilo et carmina Euphorionis* canam.

51 PASTORIS SICULI* Theocriti. AVENA calamo,
pro scriptura.

52 CERTUM EST idest me a te ad alios velle transire,
idest Gallus ad concubinam, Virgilius ad Caesarem dicit.

52 INTER SPELAEA inter speluncas.

53 MALLE PATI ferre laborem.

53 INCIDERE a te vellere.

53 ARBORIBUS ad arbores dare.

54 ILLAE silvae. CRESCETIS AMORES et vos, o
amores, crescetis silvestres.

55 LUSTRABO MAENALA LYMPHIS, alii verius
NYMPHIS, vel cum Nymphis permixtos montes lustrabo
venando.

55 MAENALA hic Maenalus, haec Maenala mons Arcadiae.

56 ACRES vehementes.

57 PARTHENIOS Arcadios vel mons Parthenius* in

50 CHALCIDICO: calcidico B.

50 Chalcis: calcis B.

50 Euboea: euboia B.

50 Euphorion *Mueller*: euforios B: *post hoc H. fuit add.*

50 Theocriteo: teocr&io B.

50 Euphorionis: euforionis B.

51 SICULI: siculis B.

57 Parthenius *scripsi*: partheu B et H.

montibus Caucasi est, Iunilius dicit.¹¹ sed et
 'partheni' Lacones ideo quod cum profecti essent
 ad bellum reliqua iuventus stuprum cum virginibus
 fecit; inde 'partheni' nominati sunt, vel
 'partheni' dicti a virginibus quae illic venerare*
 consuerunt.¹²

[Folio 23v.]

59 IRE a provincia. PARTHO Persico. CYDONIA
 Cressia*, accusativo casu. CYDONIA arcus Persicus vel
 Cretensis, quia illic arborum primus usus inventus est
 earum*.

60 TAMQUAM HAEC SIT NOSTRI MEDICINA FURORIS idem
 sensus et 'nec talia curat'. FURORIS amoris.

61 DEUS Cupido, vel Caesar alligorice.

61 MITESCERE molliri.

57 venerare B: venari H., sed nescio an res venerea significetur.

59 Cressia: cressia B.

59 earum: hoc H. inter illic et arborum collocavit.

11 Cf. Explanatio II: parthenios idest Arcadicos a virginibus dicti que illic venari consuerunt. Expl. I covers similar ground.

12 VENERARE. Despite the evidence of the Explanations (where venari is used), I hold to the view that the word carries an erotic meaning, no doubt suggested by stuprum two lines above. Cf. Hyginus fab. 75 ad init., where venerantes has the sense of 'making love'. It is true that such an interpretation does not make the best sense, but the present purpose is not so much to make good sense as to retrieve an early medieval commentary, with all the naivety and error that accompanied it.

62 HAMADRYADES* Nymphae quae cum arboribus nascuntur et
pereunt, qualis fuit illa quam Erysichthon* occidit, qui
cum arborem incideret, et vox inde erupit et sanguis, ut
Ovidius docet¹³. DRYADES vero sunt quae inter arbores
habitant. hoc autem ad superiora haeret, quia dixit
'lustrabo Maenala nymphis'¹⁴.

63 CONCEDITE recipite*.

64 ILLUM amorem, vel Caesarem alligorice.

65 HEBRUM fluviu Thracius, vel genus poculi
inebriantis; dicit* amore carere non posse.

66 SITHONIAS pro Scythobarbaricas*, Thracias*. Sithon
mons Thraciae, vel SITHONIAS idest Scythias a Sithone*
Phyllidis fratre*, Iunilius dicit.¹⁵

67 MORIENS vitio agri*. ALTA vitis in arbore
posita. ALTA suspensa. LIBER vitis. ARET
moriatur. IN ULMO in cortice.

62 HAMADRYADES: amadriades B.
62 quam Erysichthon *Mueller*: que siclium B.
63 recipite: *H. add.* 'vos'.
65 dicit *H.*: hic B.
66 Scythobarbaricas: scithobarbaricas B.
66 Thracias *H.*: thracius B.
66 Sithone: scithone B.
66 fratre B: patre *H. sec. Ribbeck*.
67 vitio agri: vitio aeris *Citarelli*: vitis aegra *H.*

13 Met. VIII.738 sq.

14 Verse 55.

15 Cf. Explanatio II: Hebrum idest flumen Traciae.
sithonias idest Sithon mons Thraciae. The note in Expl.
I is briefer.

67 NEC SI CUM ET RELIQUA hic sensus est: licet in Aethiopia simus* et licet in Scythia* laboremus propter eum, tamen non mutatur. LIBER ARET alligorice senium adpropinquat.

68 VERSEMUS pascamus. CANCRI unum de xii signis quod in australi parte semper moratur.

70 SAT pro satis. DIVAE Musae.

70 POETAM Gallum:

71 FISCELLAM sportam; alligorice significat se composuisse hunc librum tenuissimo stilo.

71 HIBISCO genus herbae.

73 GALLO CUIUS AMOR ET RELIQUA hoc dicit propter Caesarem.

74 VERE NOVO in principio veris. SE SUBICIT susum mittit ad proceritatem.

75 SURGAMUS finiamus carmen. GRAVIS idest ipsorum* agrestium umbra gravis certantibus*, vel quia difficile est omnia sub uno sensu* costringere in Bucolicis.

76 IUNIPERI genus ligni duri.

76 IUNIPERI alligorice Georgica. NOCENT ET RELIQUA alligorice Aeneidos.

77 ITE DOMUM SATURAE VENIT HESPERUS ITE CAPELLAE idest non amplius vos canam. verecunde se capellarum esse pastorem dicit, hoc est vilissimorum

67 simus B: sitiamus H.

67 Scythia: sithia B.

75 ipsorum *scripsi*: psarum B: ipsarum *Mueller*: plantarum H.

75 certantibus: cantantibus H.

75 uno sensu *compl. H.*: sensu B.

animalium, nam Bucolica scribens debuit se dicere
 bovm pastorem, sed vitans arrogantiam* ultimum se
 esse voluit, non principem, inscribens Bucolicis
 'ite domum saturae, ite capellae'.

77 SATURAE saturatae. HESPERUS stella quae primo
 vespere apparet.

HAEC OMNIA DE COMMENTARIIS ROMANORUM CONGREGAVI¹⁶
 IDEST TITI GALLI ET GAUDENTII ET MAXIME IUNILII
 FLAGRII MEDIOLANENSES.

77 arrogantiam: arogantiā B.

16 CONGREGAVI. The last of the six personal or
 editorial comments in the Scholia: the very words,
 perhaps, of Adamnán? Note the similarity to the word
coacervavi which is said to be symptomatic of an Irish
 provenance, and compare the other 'Irish' phrase pauca
fona in the title of Explanatio I. See Bischoff,
 'Wendepunkte', for his original identification of 'Irish
 symptoms'.

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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

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INDEX OF TECHNICAL OR LITERARY WORDS

This index offers a summary of the extent to which the Scholia Bernensia concern themselves with what we must for convenience call technical matters: grammar, prosody and rhetoric, with just a smattering of theology and politics. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a particular word has been used in a technical sense and I have tried to make an appropriate judgement on that. As in the previous index, words appear exactly as they are found in the text.

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